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ESSAYS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

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BY

HIS EMINENCE
CARDINAL WISEMAN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET,
AND 22, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1853.

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[*The Proprietor of this Work notifies that he reserves the right of Translation.*]

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PREFACE.

If I owe any apology to my readers for publishing this series of unconnected papers and essays, I must be content to plead the request of many friends, and frequent applications from strangers, to have such a collection made. For, although much of what is now printed with my name originally appeared anonymously, and under the shelter of editorial responsibility, its authorship has been pretty generally known, and never disavowed. This is not uncommon in reviews; and yet there is a convenience in the advantages of such a position; for it enables the writer to speak with a confidence, and sometimes with a boldness, from which he would shrink, if he spoke in his own person, and not as the representative of certain principles, embodied in a collective responsibility.

The greater part, in fact, of the essays now presented to the public, have appeared as papers in the *Dublin Review*; and they preserve in this collection their primitive form. This has been done, not merely to escape the trouble of changing the plural into the singular number, but because I feel that the plural preserves a modesty of tone, and a reserve of opinion, which was originally intended, and would be lost by any change of forms. For, as I have intimated, the *Dublin Review* is the exponent of a system of views, to which, rather than to individual speculations, each contributor's writings should be referred.

It was in 1836 that the idea of commencing a Catholic quarterly was first conceived by the late learned and excellent Mr. Quin, who applied to the illustrious O'Connell and myself to join in the undertaking. I was in England only for a short time, and saw the difficulty of connecting myself with an enterprise so far removed from my permanent residence in Rome. Still, I saw the importance of such an organ of Catholic principles and sentiments, and gladly consented to become a member of this little association. The first number appeared in May, 1836, before I left this country. The two gentlemen with whom I was associated were laymen: the one living in the very whirlpool of existing politics, the other a man of letters, with a prospect, I believe, of receiving an important foreign employment from Government; both were sincerely attached to their faith and Church. I considered myself as associated to represent the theological and religious elements in the journal, and to secure to its pages soundness of doctrine. It was understood to be a condition of this association that no extreme political views should be introduced into the *Review;* and this condition has, in most trying times, been faithfully observed.

A few years of separation virtually, and afterwards death most really, sundered this bond; and I find myself the only survivor of those who began an undertaking that has grown to some magnitude—looking back through thirty-three volumes, or sixty-seven numbers, of a periodical work, undertaken for a great purpose, and having to account for my share of responsibility in it, and answer whether I have remained faithful to its first principles, and steady to its object.

While obeying the suggestions of others, by preparing the present publication, I have had ample

opportunity of examining this question; and I trust I may be indulged if I make such observations upon it as may throw light upon the collection of papers here reprinted.

The moment when I was invited to join in this new review appeared to me most critical and interesting. Three years before, had begun to manifest themselves the germs of that wonderful movement which, originating at Oxford, was destined to pervade and agitate the Anglican Establishment, till it should give up many of its most loving and gifted sons to the Catholic Church; peculiar circumstances, allusion to which will be found in a note in vol. ii. pp. 93 and 102, had made me at Rome previously acquainted with the rise and progress of this great religious revolution; and I had been surprised, on visiting England in 1835, to find how little attention it had yet excited among Catholics, though many *Tracts for the Times* had already appeared, and Dr. Whateley had sung out to their writers, "Tendimus in Latium." It was, indeed, impossible for any one to foresee what might be the final results of so new and strange a commotion in the hitherto stagnant element of the State-religion. Even now, after twenty years, and notwithstanding the many great consequences which have already issued from it, its activity is not exhausted. The impulse given by the first *Tract* still urges on the body which it struck; and it will roll forward for a long time to come, while fragments detach themselves, and run before it, towards the goal which we pray it may all attain. But even in that first bud of the rising power, it was impossible for a calm and hopeful eye not to see new signs in the religious firmament, which it became a duty to observe, unless one wished to incur the Divine reproach, addressed to

those who note not the providential warnings and friendly omens of the spiritual heavens. For Catholics to have overlooked all this, and allowed the wonderful phenomenon to pass by, not turned to any useful purpose, but gazed at, till it died out, would have been more than stupidity,—it would have been wickedness. To watch its progress, to observe its phases, to influence, if possible, its direction, to move it gently towards complete attainment of its unconscious aims; and, moreover, to protest against its errors, to warn against its dangers, to provide arguments against its new modes of attack, and to keep lifted up the mask of beauty under which it had, in sincerity, covered the ghastly and soul-less features of Protestantism; these were the duties which the new Review undertook to perform, or which, in no small degree, it was expressly created to discharge. And the necessity of attending to these new duties formed the strongest inducement to myself to undertake its theological direction.

At the same time, Catholics had begun to recover from that first torpor, which benumbs, for a time, the limbs just freed from fetters. Signs of a more active circulation had shown themselves: communities were springing up; schools were beginning to be multiplied; new missions were opened; churches, upon a scale of size and of embellishment previously unknown, were contemplated or begun; and the people were evidently manifesting more interest in our religion, and a more fair disposition to hear and judge it justly. It seemed the favourable moment to strike another chord, and stir up a spirit yet slumbering, but ready to awake. The Catholic religion as she is in the fulness of her growth, with the grandeur of her ritual, the beauty of her devotions, the variety of her institutions, required to be made more known to

many who had never seen her other than she had been reduced, by three hundred years of barbarous persecution.

Nothing could so adequately seize on these two great objects, and securely promote them, as a quarterly periodical. The length of articles which it would admit would give it power to discuss any topic in sufficient extent, beyond that of a newspaper or magazine; while it would be able to return again and again to the same subject, follow its course and developments, keep it before the public mind, and work out its applications—advantages which a work, once written and complete, could not possibly possess.

For any one feeling a deep interest in promoting these two purposes, holding it for a matter of duty to devote himself, if in his power, to their success; and conscious that earnestness, hopefulness, and much consideration of their details, and some experience in them, gave him some advantage,—for any one so feeling to have refused participation in the proposed work, from fear of presumption, would have been a weakness, almost a baseness. It was therefore with a strong desire, and a sincere determination, to make the *Dublin Review* the organ and the promoter of Catholic progress, within and without; it was with a conscientious resolution that its theology should belong to the present day,—that is, should treat of living questions, and existing controversies, should grapple with real antagonists, wrestle with tangible errors, that I agreed to turn from studies long pursued, and ardently cherished, to the anxious care and desultory occupation involved in the direction of such a publication. Works not only long contemplated, but for which materials had been gathered with diligence, were given up at this period, in consequence

of time and attention being more required for passing events and current literature.

At the same time, it was necessary to mingle with these pursuits others of a less severe character, though generally of a religious tendency. Our religion is attacked in every possible way—in books of travel, in works on history, in fictitious stories. To such assaults it was necessary to pay attention; in a style, however, more proportioned to the matter and character of the writers reviewed.

According, therefore, to this triple distribution of subjects, this collection has been formed. The first volume contains papers chiefly supposing Catholic readers. It begins with scriptural essays, to complete a series, whereof it has been found necessary to add one, in an appendix to the third volume, from a later number of the *Review*, than those which have furnished materials for the present work. It closes with papers intended to bring out the beauties of the Catholic ritual, of Catholic practices, and of Catholic devotions.

The second volume, with the exception of its last article, is exclusively occupied with the High-church question, or what used to be called, the Oxford controversy. In the very first number of the Review appeared the first paper on this subject; and this was kept steadily in view through the succeeding volumes, till it might be said to be fairly closed. But on this subject I will take the liberty of saying a few words in a special preface to that volume.

Finally, the third volume is made up of papers and essays of a more miscellaneous character—historical, artistical, archæological, and controversial. Less unity of purpose or continuity of thought will naturally be here expected. And if, in this republication, a con-

siderable number of former writings have been omitted, it has been chiefly because they have lost an interest which passing circumstances gave them, or they were deemed even less worthy than what has been selected, to be snatched from their repose in the volumes of the *Review*. For I feel it a duty, rather than a satisfaction, to say, that on looking over this collection of papers, stretching over a period of seventeen years, covering that critical period of life which comprises the maturity of youthful vigour, and the commencement of intellectual decline,—the age of bold thoughts, and that of cautious emendations,—I have not found an opinion or a feeling that I have ceased to entertain. What was but hope may have ripened into fulfilment—but I see no reason to regret that I hoped: what was implored may have since been granted—but I have no cause to grieve that I entreated: what was a suggestion may have grown into a reality—but I cannot be sorry that the suggestion was made. Things and persons and circumstances may have changed much, so that one cannot, and must not, feel now as then: but it is a consolation to have still the conviction that one did feel right then, because those feelings were the necessary germs of what we know to be right now.

To express this, I have said is a duty: and this may require some explanation. I will give it, on the Oxford question in my second preface: I must give it briefly here, on the other portions of this collection. Were it hinted that such consistency of sentiment was to be attributed to firmness of character, or depth of previous reflection, or early maturity of judgment, in the writer, it would be merely a boast, as misplaced, as it would be false. Only a principle could stand the test of so many years; and in religious ideas only one

principle can remain unchangeable. It is to render homage to this truth that I consider it a duty. Looking back over this long term of years, remembering how one fixed determination formed my whole stock of principles for theory and practice, and seeing how faithfully it has supplied the want of much learning, the absence of brilliant gifts, the dearth of popular topics, and deficiency in popular arts, I have surely a right to prize it above all these advantages, and consider it as a part of that heavenly wisdom which God refuses to none in his Church. And this was the determination to keep strictly under her guidance, to prize her orthodox teaching beyond all seductive theories, all brilliant paradoxes, all palliating explanations; to love Catholic truth, simple and unmodified as found at its centre, as practised by artless believers; to look there for purity of doctrine and accuracy of observance, where God has left the richest deposit for the future resurrection, in the ashes of His Apostles. This unbounded devotion to Christ's one Church, this undeviating adherence to her supreme Ruler, has been the chart and compass by which I have endeavoured to sail; and, while I humbly trust that not a word will be found in these volumes discordant with her teaching, her maxims, her desires, her thoughts, I submit to her correction all that is here written, and beg every obscurity or dubiousness to be interpreted on this principle.

To this one elementary principle, which a child may have as easily as a man, I exclusively attribute any good results which may have flowed from these essays; I cannot indeed, without ingratitude, reject the consolations received from effects attributed to them; for I fear that my readers will wonder sometimes at finding wants mentioned now so well supplied, and

feelings suggested long become so familiar, that the very memory of our deficiencies has faded away. More than half a generation has passed by since those passages were written, which now describe an unknown state of things. And if their words had some influence in producing the change, their power lay in this alone,—that they were sincere, cordial, and affectionate descriptions of realities often witnessed by the writer, deeply admired, and tenderly loved; they were words of truth and of charity, which ever bear with them their own evidences and convictions, straight to the minds of all.

That the many imperfections of so miscellaneous a collection may be elaborately investigated and severely handled, I am fully prepared to expect. I have long ceased to anticipate fair dealing from those who look upon me as an enemy, and think it their duty to treat me as such. Custom, however, inures us to this; and I trust that I shall have patience to bear it to the end. And nothing helps one more to this than a consciousness that no bitterness of thought, or personal rancour, or desire to wound, has guided one's own pen or intentions. Should any words of mine suggest a different impression, I shall sincerely regret it.

With these words of peace, I take leave of my courteous reader; wishing him, from above, all grace and blessing, as I bid him to implore for me all mercy and forgiveness.

EASTER, MDCCCLIII.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

PAGE

Two Letters on some parts of the Controversy concerning the Genuineness of 1 John v. 7 (*with Plate*) 1

Catholic Versions of Scripture 71

The Parables of the New Testament 101

The Miracles of the New Testament 165

Letters to John Poynder, Esq., upon his work entitled "Popery in Alliance with Heathenism" 245

Authority of the Holy See in South America 299

A Paper on Ecclesiastical Organization 337

The Fate of Sacrilege 357

On Prayer and Prayer-Books 375

On National Holydays 431

Essay on the Minor Rites and Offices of the Church. Part I. 469

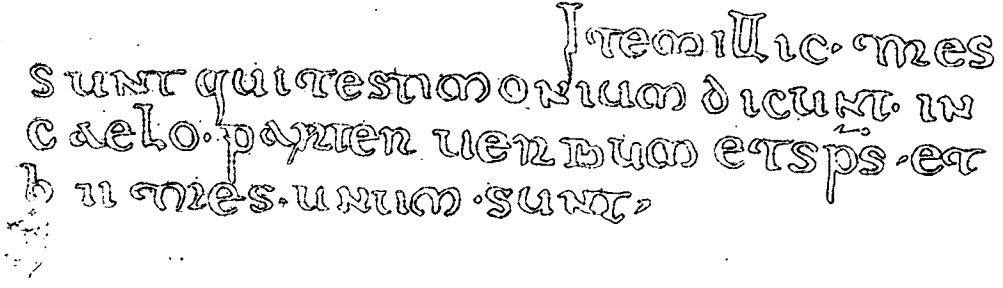
Essay on the Minor Rites and Offices of the Church. Part II. 507

Ancient and Modern Catholicity 537

The Actions of the New Testament 575

1. Io. V. 7.

nel M.S. di Santa Croce



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TWO LETTERS

ON

SOME PARTS OF THE CONTROVERSY

CONCERNING THE GENUINENESS OF

1 JOHN v. 7.

"And there are Three who give testimony in Heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One."

CONTAINING ALSO

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST LATIN VERSION OF SCRIPTURE, COMMONLY CALLED

"THE ITALA."

The two following letters were first published in the "Catholic Magazine," in 1832-3. They were republished in Rome in 1835, with some additions. The author was led into the discussion which they contain, by a correspondence in which he had been engaged with the late Dr. Burgess, bishop of St. David's, respecting MSS. which contain 1 John v. 7.

The discussion of the country of the first Latin version of Scripture, though incidental to the original inquiry, may be said to become the primary subject of these letters. These letters suppose the reader to be acquainted with the outline of the controversy upon the text in question. Its genuineness was impugned in the last century by English and German critics; and these essays pretend to nothing more than the collection of additional evidence in its favour, from the authority of Latin MSS. This will account for the abrupt rush, at once, into the subject; and for the absence of any popular explanations of terms. In truth, they were intended more to be materials for scholars to consider, than finished dissertations on the controversies, and, with few verbal changes, they are left in the same form.

TWO LETTERS

ON

1 JOHN v. 7,

COMMONLY CALLED THE THREE WITNESSES.

LETTER THE FIRST.

To the Editor of the "Catholic Magazine."

DEAR SIR,—A periodical like yours is the most appropriate channel of information upon such points of sacred literature as, from their partial and detached nature, may not deserve a separate publication. Hence I shall make no apology to you, or your readers, for transmitting to you a few remarks upon some parts of the important controversy regarding the celebrated verse, 1 John v. 7: though they will be rather thrown together in the form of loose notes, than arranged as a complete dissertation. Indeed, I foresee, at the outset, that my letters will be extremely desultory, and that I shall probably be led to give my humble opinion upon several points, not immediately connected with the principal object of my inquiries.

Perhaps the strongest portion of the evidence in favour of this long-controverted passage consists in the authority of Latin testimonies, the Vulgate, and the Latin Fathers. The adversaries of the verse have been compelled to acknowledge that the majority of Latin manuscripts contain it; but have, in reply,

contended that it is wanting in the most ancient. Dr. Porson insists upon this argument in the following terms: "To which side shall we give credit, to age or to numbers? On the one side, the witnesses are grave, elderly persons, who lived nearer the time when the fact happened which they assert, and they are all consistent in their testimony, while the other party, vastly superior in numbers, yet lived too late to be competently acquainted with the cause."[a] And what [illegible] antiquity attributed by this learned [illegible] class of testimonies? From his obser[illegible] upon the two Harleian MSS., he seems to [illegible] the verse as not existing in any Latin manu[illegible] to the *tenth* century: for he says: "In the Harleian catalogue, No. 7,551 contains three [illegible] Epistle of St. John. The first copy [illegible] the tenth century, the second of the ninth, and both omit the heavenly witnesses."[b] On the other hand, the oldest manuscript which he mentions, as wanting the verse, is the celebrated Lectionary published by Mabillon, held to be about 1,200 years old, or of the seventh century.[c] With the dates thus fixed by Porson, the sentiments of Griesbach appear to coincide. These are his words: "Codices Latini ante sæculum *nonum* scripti versum septimum plane non habent a prima manu . . . Invenitur in nonnullis sæculo *decimo* exaratis; fortasse etiam (a prima manu) in uno et altero sæc. nono scripto, siquidem de eorum ætate recte judicarunt, qui eos tractaverunt."[d]

Mr. Horne, in treating this subject, commits a sin-

[a] Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in answer to his defence of the three heavenly witnesses. Lond. 1790, p. 154.

[b] Page 152. [c] Page 153.

[d] Nov. Testam. ed. Lond. 1818, vol. ii. p. 640.

gular oversight, easily accounted for in a compiler not always careful to reconcile together the jarring passages he has collected from different writers. He says: "The passage does not appear in any (Latin) manuscripts *written before the tenth century.*" After a few lines, in the same page and paragraph, he proceeds to say: "*After the eighth century, the insertion becomes general.* For manuscripts written after that period have generally, though not always, the passage in the body of the text."[e] The Latin manuscripts of the period intervening between these two dates, or written in the ninth century, must be exceedingly curious documents. Do they contain or omit the verse? If they contain it, his first assertion is incorrect; if they omit it, his second.

It is obviously a matter of the greatest importance that all accessible evidence upon this important question should be laid before the public, and my principal object in now addressing you is to communicate observations upon two Latin manuscripts, of a date anterior to any hitherto attributed to those containing the verse, by the opposers of its genuineness; which, however, will be shown to contain it.

The first document to which I beg to call the attention of critics is a beautiful manuscript of the Vulgate, preserved in the venerable Benedictine monastery of La Cava, situated between Naples and Salerno. The archives of this ancient house contain upwards of 30,000 parchment rolls, commencing at a very early period; the library also possesses several valuable manuscripts. One of these is the Vulgate alluded to; and when visiting that part of Italy some years ago, I turned aside to the monastery, chiefly for the pur-

[e] Introduction to the critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. 6th ed. Lond. 1828, vol. iv. p. 468.

pose of inspecting it. I have, however, found still more favourable opportunity to study its text; for the indefatigable librarian of the Vatican, Monsignor Mai,[f] considered this MS. of sufficient value to deserve an exact transcription. This was ordered by Pope Leo XII., and in the course of last summer (1831), the last sheets were deposited in the Vatican Library by Father Rossi, the archivist of La Cava. It will be difficult, at a distance, to estimate the accuracy and trouble with which this transcript has been effected. It contains the Old and New Testaments, copied line for line and word for word, with an exact imitation of the painted and ornamental parts. Besides making two such exact copies of the manuscript, the industrious archivist has, in two years, classified the entire archives, and drawn up, in eleven columns, a descriptive catalogue of 9,000 documents.

The inspection made of the original manuscript was too hurried to authorize me to draw any conclusions regarding the antiquity to which it may aspire. It is written on a beautiful vellum, in large quarto; each page, like the celebrated Vatican MS. (1209), contains three columns. There is no division between the words except by an occasional point. The character is exceedingly minute; the initial letters of paragraphs are somewhat larger and stand out of the lines; the marginal notes are written so small as to require a good lens in order to decipher them. A very detailed description has, however, been published of our manuscript by the Abbé Rozan, who has carefully collected all those characteristics which can have any weight in deciding its age.[g] The following is the result of his investigation.

[f] Now Cardinal.

[g] Lettre à M. le Bibliothécaire de la Bibliothèque du Roi à Naples. 1822.

Of the thirty-one characteristics noticed by him, *thirteen* are mentioned in the *Traité de Diplomatique* as decisive of *very high antiquity; five* as designating a period *anterior to the ninth century; three* as indicative of *at least the eighth; four* as decisive of the *seventh at latest;* and *four* as characteristic of the *sixth.* The two remaining ones are too vague to be of any use.[h] It is true that the Abbé Rozan himself suggests some difficulties in the way of attributing an excessive antiquity to this manuscript, grounded principally upon the small size and minuscular form of some of the letters. But he solves these objections by citing examples of similar letters in manuscripts of the fifth century; and it is with extreme surprise that his readers find him concluding that this MS. is only one thousand years old. This conclusion seems, from his expressions, to proceed, not so much from his premises, as from his fear to be thought extravagant in his praise.[i] Indeed, it may not be out of place to remark, that many mistakes may be committed through the idea, too prevalent since the promulgation of the Maurist diplomatic canons, that majuscular letters exclusively were prevalent in the early centuries. Some more current character must have been in ordinary use; and a strong evidence of this is to be found in a most valuable manuscript of St. Hilary, preserved in the Archivium of the Chapter of St. Peter's; at the end of which is a note, in a character as connected and rapid as any modern could be supposed to write, to the following effect: "Contuli in nomine Domini Jesu Christi apud Kasulis constitutus, anno quartodecimo Transàmundi regis."[j] This note was therefore written

[h] *Pp. 136—144.* [i] *Page 148.*

[j] A fac-simile of the MS. of St. Hilary and of this valuable inscription may be seen in Monsignor Mai's Symmachus. Rome, 1823.

in the year 509, and consequently the manuscript, whose *recensor* added it, must still be more ancient. Now the forms of the letters in this valuable manuscript resemble much those of the La Cava manuscript; and upon the strength of this similarity the learned and experienced Monsignor Mai has no hesitation in considering the latter as of the seventh century at *latest*: it may be even more ancient. The antiquity of this document is still further confirmed by the peculiarities of its text, which, however, is that of St. Jerome.

I will now proceed to give the portion of the first Epistle of St. John, which contains the verse of the three Heavenly Witnesses, commencing at the fourth verse of the fifth chapter, and preserving the exact order and orthography of the words, and its marginal annotations:—

Quoniam homne quod natum est ex deo vincit mundum
Fides n̄ra. Quis est autem qui vincit mundum nisi
qui credit quia* Ih̄s filius dei est. hic est qui venit
per aquam et sanguinem et spm̄ Ih̄s xp̄s
Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et spū.
Spiritus* est qui testificatur. q̄m Ih̄s est veritas.
Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.
Spiritus et aqua et sanguis: et hii tres hunum sunt.
in xp̄o Ih̄u. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt
in caelo. Pater. verbum. et sp̄s. et* hii tres hunum
sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus etc.

* Et arius prae dicat creaturam

* Si veritas quo modo creatura quum creatura vera es se possit. denique de nullo angelo rum legitur quod veritas sit.

* Audiat hoc arius et ceteri.

A few simple observations will close the account of this interesting document.

1. In the fourth verse we have a very remarkable example of the power of that "all-devouring monster *omoioteleuton*," as I think Porson somewhere *facetiously* calls it. To less experienced readers, it may be necessary to mention, that, in sacred as in profane

criticism, one of the most fertile sources of omission in manuscripts is a similarity of words occurring near to one another. The transcriber's eye is taken from his original at the first passage, and upon returning to it, catches by mistake the same word lower down, and thus the whole intermediate portion is omitted in the transcript. This similarity of termination constitutes what is technically called an *omoioteleuton*. It is generally supposed, by the writers in defence of our verse, that it has been lost in Greek manuscripts by a mistake of this sort, in consequence of the passage immediately preceding it ending with the same words. Now, as has just been remarked, our manuscript, in the two first lines above transcribed, affords us an interesting illustration of the facility of such a mistake. Before *Fides nostra* are omitted the words, *et hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum;* doubtless because the preceding clause ended likewise with *vincit mundum*, so that the copyist's eye was misled. How easily might a similar mistake have been committed at the seventh verse!

2. In this manuscript, the eighth verse comes before the seventh; and Griesbach has, in fact, remarked, that this is the case in the most ancient manuscripts. "Antiquiores fere anteponunt comma octavum septimo."[k]

3. The dogmatical use made of this text in the margin is likewise worthy of very particular attention. The very earnest manner in which every argument for the Divinity of Christ seems urged by the writer of the notes, would almost lead us to suppose that they were written during the Arian controversy. The energetic and pithy annotation, *audiat hoc Arius et ceteri,*

[k] Ubi sup.

demonstrates better than the longest commentary could have done, the force which the writer attributed to our verse, and the total absence from his mind of any doubt of its genuineness. The second note may appear a little obscure, from the omission of the second member of an antithesis. It says that a creature might indeed be said to be *true*, but could not with propriety be called *the truth*.

To conclude, we have here a Latin manuscript which contains the verse, anterior by at least three centuries to the age allowed by its adversaries for its admission into the text: and the document shows, at the same time, the dogmatical use made of the passage.

The second authority to which I wish to call the attention of critics is of still greater interest; it is that, not merely of a scriptural manuscript, but of an ancient author, quoting it for the express purpose of demonstrating the Trinity.

In the library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, is preserved a manuscript containing two ecclesiastical treatises. The second is the work of St. Cyprian *ad Quirinum*. The first bears no title at the commencement, by the original transcriber; but its termination is as follows:—*Explicit liber testimoniorum*. It was this circumstance which probably led to a much later hand's prefixing the title, *De Testimoniis Scripturarum Augustini contra Donatistas et Ydola*. But from the account which St. Augustine himself gives us of the work written by him under that title, this is not the one. In his *Retractationes*, he speaks of his book, *Probationum et Testimoniorum adversus Donatistas* (as confuting those heretics); *sive de Ecclesiasticis, sive de Publicis Gestis, sive de Scripturis Canonicis*.[1] There can be no doubt that this is the same work as his dili-

[1] Retract. l. ii. cap. 27, tom. i. p. 51, ed. Maur.

gent biographer Posidius denotes by the title of *De Testimoniis Scripturarum, contra supra scriptos, et Idola.*[m] Now, our work is altogether composed of scriptural quotations only, and is in no way directed to a confutation of the Donatists.

An earlier hand had before given a much more probable title to the treatise, having written on the first page, *Libri de Speculo.* This leads us into an interesting discussion, of great importance towards the object of our researches; have we here the real work of St. Augustine, entitled *Speculum*, or is this title altogether supposititious? I will be as impartial as possible in conducting the inquiry. My order will be as follows:—First, I will give an account of the work as it exists in our manuscript; secondly, I will state the arguments *against* its being the work of St. Augustine; thirdly, I will propose the arguments which seem to suppose him its author. I will afterwards proceed to examine the degree of authority which, in any hypothesis, this document possesses towards proving the genuineness of our verse.

1. *The work which we are considering* consists of upwards of one hundred heads, including the most important points of Christian belief and practice. Upon each of these subjects all the texts of the Old and New Testaments are given, without a single remark or illustration. In the main, the work is nearly the same as was published under the title of St. Augustine's *Speculum*, by Jerome Vignier.[n] But it differs in one most important particular, that the text used in our manuscript is not the version of St. Jerome in the Old, nor his correction in the New

[m] Indical. opusculor. Ib. tom. x. p. 284.

[n] S. Aur. Augustini Operum omnium Supplem. Par. 1655, tom. i. p. 517.

Testament, but the old Vulgate found in the quotations of the Fathers, and collected in the great works of Nobilius, Bianchini, and Sabbatier. It in fact supplies many *lacunæ* in the latter invaluable work, and is therefore a precious addition to our stores of sacred criticism. Indeed, the active and intelligent librarian of Santa Croce is preparing the entire work for publication, chiefly with a view to amending and improving our text of the ancient Vulgate.[o]

The manuscript itself is a quarto on vellum: the character is uncial and square, resembling in form and size the Latin of the Codex Bezæ or Cambridge MS. of the New Testament. It is, on the whole, beautifully written, and one must be cautious not to judge of it from the specimen given by Bianchini,[p] whose fac-similes, from not being traced, will be often found incorrect.[q] There can be no danger in attributing it to the sixth or seventh century. A fac-simile of it is prefixed to this essay.

To come now to the most important point; this work quotes the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, as a dogmatical proof of the Trinity. In the second chapter, which is entitled, *De Distinctione Personarum*, fol. 19, *ver.* we have the following passage:—*Item Jo-*

[o] I regret to say that the death of this promising Cistercian religious has, for the present, interrupted this undertaking.

[p] Evangelior. Quadrup. Romæ, 1748, tom. ii. fol. 595, pl. 2, No. 2.

[q] This is the case with most of the old fac-similes, which were only drawn by the eye. The specimen of the Codex Vatic. made by Zacagni for Grabe, and published by Horne, does the greatest injustice to that beautifully written MS., which bears a much closer resemblance to the Bankesian Homer, published in the first number of the *Museum Philologicum*. Having mentioned this valuable relic of antiquity, I may take the opportunity to state, that in the Vatican collection of papyri, exists a very small fragment of the Iliad, which I would almost venture to say, formed originally part of the same manuscript as Mr. Bankes's.

hannis in aepistula . . . Item illic Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo Pater,[r] *Verbum et Spiritus. et hii tres unum sunt.* I need hardly point out to my readers the coincidence between this manuscript and the one above quoted, in the use of the word *dicunt* instead of *dant.* It is the reading of Idatius Clarus, the oldest ecclesiastical writer who quotes this portion of the text.[s]

2. Is the more ancient title attributed to this work in our manuscript correct, and have we here the genuine *Speculum* of St. Augustine? It must be a matter of the greatest interest, in the history of this text, to ascertain whether it is quoted by this great luminary of the Church; and we will commence by the arguments which appear to be against his being the author of this treatise. Two perfectly distinct works have been published under the title of St. Augustine's Speculum. The first was the one already mentioned as edited by Vignier, to which our treatise bears a close resemblance. This was rejected as spurious by the Maurists, who substituted for it another work *of a totally different form.*[t] It consists merely of select texts of Scripture, in the order of the sacred Books, beginning with Exodus, but reduced to no heads or distinct subjects. But it has one decided advantage over the other work, and consequently over ours, that it has a preface, which ours has not. Posidius informs us that the Speculum had a preface prefixed to it. I will give his words at length, as I

[r] This word was first written, by mistake, PARTER, but a stroke was afterwards drawn through the first R by the transcriber himself.

[s] This name was assumed by Vigilius Tapsensis. Op. ed. Chifflet, p. 306. St. Eucherius is more ancient; but his text is open to much controversy.

[t] Op. tom. iii. p. i. p. 681.

may have occasion to refer to them more than once. "Quique prodesse omnibus volens, et valentibus multa librorum legere et non valentibus, ex utroque divino Testamento, Vetere et Novo, præmissa præfatione, præcepta divina seu vetita ad vitæ regulam pertinentia excerpsit, atque ex his unum codicem *fecit*; ut qui vellet legeret, et in eo vel quam obediens Deo inobediensve esset agnosceret, et hoc opus voluit *Speculum* appellari."[u] St. Augustine's Speculum had therefore prefixed to it a preface; and if the preface given in the Benedictine edition be genuine, then is the entire work genuine also. For the preface concludes with these words: "Ab ipsa igitur lege quæ data est per Moysen, divinorum præceptorum, qualia nos commemoraturos esse promisimus, aggrediamur exordium." The Benedictine editors give another reason for rejecting Vignier's Speculum and preferring their own; that a work in which the scriptural authorities are reduced to certain heads, seems rather intended to instruct the mind than to form a code of morals. From this opinion I think most will dissent. It is much easier to inspect the scriptural standard upon any point of morality and reduce our conduct to it, by having all that is written upon the subject brought together, than by seeking out the various passages bearing on it that lie dispersed through the sacred volume, mingled with other and heterogeneous materials. Such are the only arguments whereby the Benedictine editors support the preference they give to their text. The only one which possesses any strength is the circumstance of the preface, mentioned by Posidius.

3. In favour of the genuineness of the S. Croce text, we may draw a very strong argument from the fact, that its quotations are all taken from the old Latin

[u] Vita Aug. ubi sup. p. 277.

version, and not from St. Jerome's. It is well known that St. Augustine was peculiarly adverse to the design formed by his friend, of translating the Scripture from the Hebrew, and that he never approved of his version. "I would indeed rather," thus he writes to him, "that you would translate the canonical Scriptures as they are authorized by the version of the Seventy. For it would be a hard case if your version come to be adopted in many churches; since the Latin and Greek churches would thus be placed at variance."[v] "I desire to have your version from the Septuagint, that those who decry your useful labours may at length understand, that my reason for not wishing your translation from the Hebrew to be read in churches is, the fear that, by producing something new, at variance with the Septuagint, one may cause great scandal and disturbance among the faithful, whose ears and hearts are accustomed to that version; which moreover has been approved by the Apostles."[w] In fact, he gives an instance of much scandal having been actually caused by the attempt to introduce the new version into a neighbouring church. "When a certain brother bishop endeavoured to make use of your version in the church over which he presides, a passage in Jonas attracted notice, which you have rendered in a manner totally at variance with what had been long familiar to the senses and memories of all, and consecrated by the use of successive ages. Such a tumult arose among the people, especially from the reasoning of the Greeks, who warmly pressed a charge of falsification against you, that the bishop (for it happened in a city) was obliged to appeal to the testimony of the Jews.... What was the consequence? Why, that

[v] Ep. lxxi. (ol. x.) Op. tom. ii. p. 160.
[w] Ep. lxxxiii. (ol. xix.) ib. p. 203.

after considerable danger, rather than be abandoned by his flock, he was compelled to reprobate your rendering as false."[x] With such manifest proof of St. Augustine's attachment to the old version, of his conviction how imprudent, not to say profane, it was, to attempt the introduction of the new, of his conscientious persuasion that the testimony of antiquity, the authority of the apostles, the unity of the Church were all compromised by its adoption, in possession too of the fact that in not one of his undisputed writings does he ever quote from any but the old, we cannot for an instant hesitate to conclude, that the Speculum published by the Benedictines, and consisting entirely of quotations from the version of St. Jerome, cannot, as it stands, be the genuine production of St. Augustine.

The learned editors have indeed attempted to remove this difficulty, by supposing that our Father afterwards overcame his prejudices against the new version, and may have used it, especially in a work intended for the use of the people. They appeal to his quoting this translation in some of his later works, particularly in the fourth book of Christian Doctrine, which he composed towards the close of his life. To this I would reply—first, that his writing especially for the people would be rather an additional reason for preferring the old version. Even in Rome, the ancient version was used by St. Leo in the fifth century, and even in the sixth, St. Gregory used either, indifferently, thus clearly showing the moment of transition from one to the other. Secondly, an inspection of the passage alluded to by the Maurists will be sufficient to convince any reader, that St. Augustine deemed an explanation necessary, if on one extraordinary occasion

[x] Ib. p. 161.

he made use of the new version: and even that he did not suppose all his readers necessarily acquainted with the translation made by "the priest Jerome, a man skilled in the two languages."[y]

There is still, it is but fair to remark, one way of removing the difficulty, by supposing that a later hand altered the text and remodelled the work upon the version of St. Jerome. We must acknowledge that this might easily have been done: and the existence of two types of our Speculum, the one with the old, and the other, in Vignier's edition, with the new text, proves that persons were found who thought it worth their while to undertake the task. Still, when applied to the Benedictine text, this is only an unsupported hypothesis. We have no proof of their book having ever existed in any but its modern form, and as such it could not possibly be the work of St. Augustine; of the other, we have positive proof that it did consist originally of the text used by that Father.

There is another argument for the genuineness of our copy, which has been noticed by the scholar engaged in preparing it for publication. He informs me that he has noticed a very marked resemblance between the titles of some of the sections and St. Augustine's mystical interpretation of the corresponding passages. It would not be difficult to give a few instances, as I have also noted some; but it will be more fair and satisfactory to leave in his hands the full development of this important argument.

Before proceeding further in this essay, we encounter a serious difficulty, involving a long and delicate investigation. It may be objected, with great semblance of truth; does not the very existence of the verse of the Three Witnesses, in this work, prove it spurious?

[y] De Doct. Christ. lib. iv. c. 7, tom. iii. pa. i. p. 71.

Is it credible that St. Augustine should here quote this verse in proof of the Trinity, and yet totally pass it over in his Commentary upon St. John's Epistle, and in his works upon the Trinity, where the series of the text, or the expediency of his argument, imperatively called upon him to notice it? To reconcile this apparent contradiction, becomes a part of my task; and let not my reader be startled if we appear to retire to a great distance the better to effect our object; for the artificer must often attach to a very distant point the threads upon which he will gradually raise a compact and durable texture.

Let us assume it to be known to our readers, that St. Augustine is the only ancient writer who mentions any Latin text of the Scriptures under the title of the *Itala*. His words are: "In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ."[z] This passage has given rise to one of the most difficult problems in sacred criticism; and it is to the solution of this problem that I propose to address myself. This will be immediately necessary to remove the difficulty just raised. But at the same time, it will be, I trust, useful and important for clearing the entire controversy of the Three Witnesses from some important difficulties, for explaining some striking anomalies in the evidences in its favour, and preparing the way for additional proof. Independently of these motives, and of my having at the outset given the reader fair notice of discursive intentions, the hope of loosing a serious and complicated knot in biblical literature will be perhaps a sufficient apology for a long digression.

Two hypotheses have been built upon the passage just quoted. The first is, that there existed in the

[z] Ib. lib. ii. c. 15, p. 27.

early Western Church one authentic version called "The Itala," which St. Augustine here preferred to all others. This hypothesis has been almost universally received. Acting upon its supposed certainty, Flaminius Nobilius, Bianchini, and Sabbatier, have laboured to reconstruct this version indifferently from the quotations of all the Fathers, without regard to country; and most biblical and theological writers have attributed to it an undoubted existence, under the name of the *Vetus Itala*. This appellation may be considered as almost irrevocably sanctioned.

The second hypothesis is partly grounded upon another passage of St. Augustine, where he speaks of a multiplicity of Latin versions being in existence. This passage will be given and discussed just now. The advocates of this system, generally attributed to Mosheim,[a] but started many years before by Dr. Whitby,[b] suppose the *Itala* to be only one of the *many* translations in ordinary use, which our Father, for reasons now impenetrable, happened to prefer.

The difficulties of these two hypotheses are so obvious, that some bolder critics have abandoned both, and instead of attempting to explain the text of St. Augustine, have attempted its emendation. Bentley proposed to change *Itala* into *illa*, and *nam* into *quæ;* Ernesti, no mean name in these pursuits, warmly supported his conjecture; but Casley, with some countenance of a single manuscript, ventured to correct them in their turn. This attempt to alter the text of the passage may be now considered destitute of supporters.

[a] Comment. de Rebus Christian. ante Constant. Helmest. 1753, p. 225.

[b] Observat, Philolog. Crit. cum Præf. Havercamp. Lugd. Bat. 1733, p. 84.

I have said that both the hypotheses above quoted, are attended with insurmountable difficulties.

1. As to the first, if "Itala" were the name of a version universally adopted in the Western Church, is it possible that this name never should have been recorded in all antiquity, save only in this single passage of St. Augustine? Is it credible that St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Isidore, Cassiodorus, Alcuin, and others, who have written concerning the old version, should never have given its name? That no manuscript containing the ancient text should be found to bear the title? All will acknowledge that this difficulty cannot be satisfactorily removed.

2. And with regard to the second, it may be said almost to rest upon the sole authority of one very equivocal passage which shall be presently discussed. The collection of various readings made from the Fathers by several writers, for the express purpose of supporting this hypothesis, is far from doing so. The Fathers indeed often differ from one another in their quotations, in a manner to explain which defies all the ingenuity of conjecture. But then, it not unfrequently happens that one Father in quoting the same passage upon different occasions, differs from himself as widely as he does from the rest; are we therefore to suppose that he was in the habit of using distinct versions upon these various occasions? In fact, there are just as glaring anomalies of this sort to be found in the Greek Fathers; and Christian Bened. Michaelis, in his celebrated controversy with Bengel, has produced as extraordinary instances of unaccountable discrepancy in their various readings, as can be cited from Latin writers.[c] Yet no one has ever suspected that they

[c] Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis et dijudicandis. Halle, 1749, p. 20.

had so many independent texts or versions. On the other hand, though numerous examples of such marked diversity may be collected, though it may baffle all critical ingenuity to reconcile the occasional variety of readings adduced to prove a multiplicity of versions, even by recurring to supposed quotation from memory, or accommodation, or forgetfulness, yet I am convinced that a rapid examination of the quotations of the Latin Fathers in general, would satisfy any critic of common experience and discernment, that their agreement in many extraordinary readings can spring only from the use of an identical version, however altered by ordinary causes. But what seems to place this beyond any doubt, is the tone and style which pervade the scriptural quotations of the Fathers. The general rudeness of the phrase, the repeated recurrence of words not in use among classical writers, the consistent degree of approximation to the original, preserved throughout, in short, the uniform moulding of the features of their text, shows that in all it is the same type, the offspring of one country, almost of one man. And if there was in the Church the liberty of translating, inferred by some writers from St. Augustine's text, and the custom of using such various translations, deduced by them from the various readings of the Fathers, can we suppose that the more elegant writers and accomplished scholars would have invariably selected, from such a variety, a rude and unpolished version? Or are we to suppose that the privilege of making a new version was entirely reserved to less skilful pens? Again, if such a multiplicity of versions were in use, and at the same time, as we have seen from St. Augustine, the introduction of a new word shocked and scandalized the hearers, how could a bishop or priest of one diocese

have preached or instructed in another without mischief or confusion? But these arguments will be much strengthened in my second letter.

But does the text of St. Augustine authorize the conclusions drawn from it by so many able writers, even in our own times? These are his words:—"Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique, primis fidei temporibus, in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari."[d] At first sight, the words *interpretari* and *verterunt* seem clearly to express an actual translation. But we must be cautious in pressing such words too much. Among the ancients they are often used in a less rigorous sense, to signify nothing more than a correction or *recension* of a version already existing. I have shown this on another occasion, as far as regards Greek and Syriac writers;[e] nor will it be difficult to prove as much regarding St. Augustine. For instance, he thus writes to St. Jerome:—"Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quod Evangelium ex Græco *interpretatus es.*"[f] The expression here is precisely the same as occurs in the passage above quoted. Yet it is certain that St. Jerome never translated the New Testament, but only emended it. For his words are: "N. Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi auctoritati."[g] And it is certain that he understands St. Augustine's phrase, *interpretatus es*, only in this limited sense; for his reply to it is as follows:—"Et

[d] De Doct. Christ. ubi sup. c. xi. p. 25.

[e] Horæ Syriacæ. Rome, 1828, p. 94.

[f] Epist. lxxi. ut sup. p. 161.

[g] De Viris illustribus, cap. cxxxv. tom. ii. p. 941, ed. Vallars.; ep. ad Lucin. lxxi. (ol. 28) tom. i. p. 432.

si me in *emendatione* Novi Testamenti suscipis."[h] Indeed, St. Augustine himself explains the phrase on another occasion. He thus writes to his friend:—"Ego sane te mallem Græcas potius canonicas nobis *interpretari* Scripturas, quæ LXX interpretum auctoritate perhibentur." Then, after a few lines, he thus explains himself:—"Ac per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam Græcam Scripturam quam LXX operati sunt, *Latinæ veritati reddideris.*"[i] The word *vertere* hardly presents any greater difficulty. St. Jerome, in his letter to Sunnias and Fretela, says,—"Ea autem" (the version of the LXX) "quæ habetur in Hexaplis, et quam nos *vertimus.*"[j] Yet in other places he assures us that he only emended the existing version:—"Septuaginta interpretes . . . quos ante annos plurimos, diligentissime *emendatos* meæ linguæ studiosis dedi."[k] "Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos diligentissime *emendatam* studiosis tradidi."[l]

Thus it appears, that the great, and only historical, argument for the multiplicity of versions in the Church, proves no more necessarily than a variety of recensions or corrections of the text. Hence the Itala need not be considered as the name of some specific version, in contradistinction to other translations. And we have seen that it cannot be considered as the name of the *one* received version. In addition to these arguments, the analogy of other churches suggests that only one version was used in the Western, subject to numerous modifications from accident or design, but remaining, everywhere, in substance the same. The great ten-

[h] In Op. S. Aug. ep. lxxv. tom. ii. p. 178.
[i] Ib. p. 160.
[j] Ad Sunniam et Fretel. ep. cvi. tom. i. p. 637.
[k] Adv. Rusin. lib. ii. tom. ii. p. 518.
[l] Ep. ad Lucin. ubi sup.

dency of these alterations would necessarily be to produce certain great varieties naturally determined by greater geographical divisions, or circumscribed by the limits of different ecclesiastical jurisdictions. These varieties are well known in biblical criticism, under the name of *families* or *recensions*. In the East, the Greek text will occur to the reader as a full illustration of this remark; the Syriac version has followed the same law, and the Catholics, Nestorians, and Jacobites, have their respective texts of the Peshito. Not only the Scripture, but any other work frequently transcribed, will naturally present the same phenomenon. Thus M. Gence, in his critical edition of the "Imitation of Christ," has clearly pointed out Flemish, French, and Italian recensions, of which the manuscripts of the Abbey of Moeck, of the Chartreuse of Villeneuve, and of Arona, may be considered as the types, and which embrace numbers of MSS. agreeing essentially among themselves, but exhibiting a line of critical, as well as geographical, circumscription.[m]

Such, then, would be the case with the Latin version, and the texts of Gaul, Italy, and Africa, would naturally present distinct traits, characteristic of recensions; and these traits would be more clearly discernible to those who possessed not merely fragments, but entire texts. For we may doubt whether even Griesbach or Scholz would have discovered the Greek recensions, however marked, had they been left to work merely on the dismembered quotations of the Fathers.

Now, from both historical and critical evidence, it appears perfectly clear, that in the passage about the

[m] De Imit. Christi, lib. iv. ad pervetustum exemplar, nec non ad codd. complures ex diversa regione, variis nunc primum lectionibus subjunctis, recensiti. Par. 1826.

Itala, St. Augustine meant nothing more than to specify the preference he gave to the text in *Italian* codices; in other words, that the term *Itala* is not an appellative, but a mere relative term, adopted by him because living in Africa.

1. When an individual, whether from accident or choice, has himself adopted a certain text or edition, he will naturally continue its use and give it the preference. From the history of St. Augustine, it is morally certain that the copy or copies of Scripture which he used must have been Italian. He informs us, that when at Carthage, before his conversion, he utterly despised and neglected the Scriptures, on account of the rudeness of their style.[n] He went to Milan, without the slightest religious object, and there at length began to view them in a totally different light.[o] From listening to St. Ambrose, he discovered that many things in them which had appeared to him absurd and ignoble, were full of meaning and dignity. He remained for some time in a state of doubt and wavering; and strong obstacles presented themselves to his complete search after truth. One of these I must give in his own words:—"Ecce jam non sunt absurda in libris ecclesiasticis quæ absurda videbantur, et possunt aliter atque honeste intelligi. Figam pedes meos in eo gradu, in quo puer a parentibus positus eram, donec inveniatur perspicua veritas. Sed ubi quæretur? quando quæretur? Non vacat Ambrosio, non vacat legere. *Ubi ipsos codices quærimus? unde aut quando comparamus? a quibus sumimus?*"[p] Up to this time, therefore, he had to provide himself with a copy of Scripture. Immediately upon his miraculous conversion, he retired to Cassiciacum, the villa of Vere-

[n] *Confess. lib. iii. c. 5, tom. i. p. 91.*

[o] *Ib. lib. vi. c. 3, 4, pp. 118, 122.* [p] *Ib. c. 11, p. 128.*

cundus, and thence wrote to ask St. Ambrose what books of Scripture he should read. This holy bishop recommended Isaiah, and St. Augustine read it, evidently for the first time. "Veruntamen, ego primam hujus lectionem non intelligens, totumque talem arbitrans, distuli repetendum, excercitatior in dŏminico eloquio."[q] Here also he began to read the Psalms.[r]

After his baptism, St. Augustine proceeded to Rome. Between his conversion and his return to Africa, he wrote and published several works; as his Soliloquies, his treatises,—De Beata Vita, De Ordine, De Libero Arbitrio, De Immortalitate Animæ, De Moribus Manichæorum, and De Moribus Ecclesiæ. Several of these, especially the last, demonstrate, by his facility in quoting Scripture, that he had already completely impressed it on his memory, and studied it deeply. This brief historical sketch must prove that St. Augustine learnt the sacred books entirely from the *Italian* text; and it is highly improbable that upon his return to Africa, he cast it aside and adopted another. On the contrary, it is more probable that he would give the preference, through life, to the text which he had first studied.

2. But there is a passage, in one of his polemical works, which seems completely to explain his sentiments and expressions regarding the Itala. Writing against Faustus, he gives a critical rule for deciding among conflicting various readings. "Ubi, cum ex adverso audieris 'proba,' non confugias (*a*) ad *exempla veriora*, vel (*b*) plurium codicum, vel (*c*) antiquorum, vel (*d*) linguæ præcedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum est."[s] His order therefore is 1st, (*a*) to consult MSS. containing a more true or genuine text; 2ndly, (*b*) to weigh the number; 3rdly (*c*) to examine

[q] Ib. lib. ix. c. 5, p. 162. [r] Ib. c. 4, p. 160.
[s] Adv. Faust. lib. x. c. 2, tom. viii. p. 219.

the antiquity, of the testimonies; and 4thly, (*d*) if the point still remain undecided, to recur to the originals. After a few sentences, he proceeds thus: "Quid agis? quo te convertes? quam libri a te prolati (*a*) *originem*, quam (*c*) vetustatem, quam (*d*) seriem successionis testem citabis?" By comparing this text with the preceding, and remembering that *number* of MSS. (*b*) is omitted in it, because it treats of the examination of *one* codex, we see that the *exempla veriora* are to be discovered by their *origin;* for one is substituted for the other, in the series of critical authorities. After a few more lines, St. Augustine explains what the *origin* is which has to determine a manuscript to be sincere and authoritative. For he repeats the same series, with a new and important substitution, and in the form of a conclusion from his previous reasoning: —"Itaque si de *fide exemplarium* quæstio verteretur... vel (*a*) ex *aliarum regionum codicibus unde ipsa doctrina commeavit*, nostra dubitatio dijudicaretur; vel si ibi ipsi quoque codices variarent, (*b*) plures pauciori-bus, aut (*c*) vetustiores recentioribus præferrentur; et si adhuc esset incerta varietas, (*d*) præcedens lingua, unde illud interpretatum est, consuleretur." On this passage I may be allowed a few remarks. First, St. Augustine by *codices aliarum regionum, etc.*, certainly means Latin copies; for he places a reference to the Greek, the *præcedens lingua*, as the last, and a distinct, resource. Secondly, this passage authorizes us to conclude, that different churches did not use distinct versions; for it would be absurd, in a question on a difference of reading, to refer a critic to a totally different and perfectly independent translation.

Thirdly, St. Augustine's critical rule is, that in a doubt regarding the correctness of a reading, recourse must be had in the first instance to the copies of that

country whence the faith had come. St. Augustine is writing in Africa; we have therefore only to inquire whence did he consider the faith to have been brought into that country; and, from my first observation, it follows that it must be from some Latin church. The belief of the African Church was undoubtedly that Italy, and particularly Rome, was the fountain of its Christianity. St. Gregory writes as follows to Dominicus, bishop of Carthage:—"Scientes præterea unde in Africanis partibus sumpserit ordinatio sacerdotalis exordium, laudabiliter agitis quod, sedem apostolicam diligendo, ad officii vestri originem, prudenti recordatione recurritis, et probabili in ejus affectu constantia permanentis."[t] And St. Augustine was manifestly of the same opinion, as will appear from the following passage:—"Erat etiam (Carthago) transmarinis vicina regionibus, et fama celeberrima nobilis, unde non mediocris utique auctoritatis habebat episcopum, qui posset non curare conspirantem multitudinem inimicorum, cum se videret et Romanæ ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus, et ceteris terris unde Evangelium in ipsam Africam venit, per communicatorias literas esse conjunctum."[u] "The Roman Church and *other* countries from which the Gospel had come to Africa," is a phrase sufficiently clear. But I may further remark, that the transmarine countries to which Carthage is near, and those *other* churches, are manifestly identified in this passage; for, the bishop's reputation with the former, and his being in communion with the latter, are given as an identical motive of security. Now, there can be no doubt that by the *transmarine* churches he meant those of Italy. For, alluding to the trial of Cecilianus,

[t] Epist. lib. viii. No. 33, ed. Maur. tom. ii. p.922.

[u] Ad Glor. et Eleus. ep. xliii. (al. clxiii.) vol. ii. p. 91.

he says: "An forte non debuit Romanæ ecclesiæ Melchiades episcopus, cum collegis *transmarinis* episcopis, illud sibi usurpare judicium?"[x] But we learn from St. Optatus, that the colleagues of Pope Melchiades were all Italians, except three Gallican bishops expressly petitioned for by the Donatists.[y] St. Augustine therefore considered the African Church as descended from the Italian.

We have thus a clear critical rule laid down by this Father, that when, in Africa, any doubt should arise concerning a various reading, a reference to Italian codices, or the Italian recension, should be the first critical operation. Let us now compare with this rule the passage in which the Itala is mentioned, and see if it receives any light from it. First, St. Augustine is speaking there, just as in his work against Faustus, entirely about various readings, and the correction of the text. The sentence immediately preceding is, "Plurimum hic quoque juvat interpretum numerositas, *collatis codicibus*, inspectaque atque discussa, tantum absit falsitas; nam *codicibus emendandis* primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum qui Scripturas nosse desiderant, *ut emendati non emendatis cedant*, EX UNO DUNTAXAT INTERPRETATIONIS GENERE VENIENTES."[z] Secondly, after thus saying that the more correct *codices* must be preferred, *provided they descend from the same original version*, he proceeds to state which is the text to be preferred; and this he does in the form, not of an assertion, but of a critical canon:—"In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris *præferatur*." Thirdly, he then goes on, just as in the passage of the work against Faustus, to say, that the

[x] Ib. p. 94.

[y] Adv. Parmen. lib. i. c. 23, ed. Dupin, Par. 1702, p. 23.

[z] De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. c. 14, tom. iii. pa. i. p. 27.

Greek is still to be considered a last appeal, even from this:—"Et Latinis *quibuslibet* emendandis, Græci adhibeantur."

An impartial consideration of the two passages will, I am sure, convince any one that they are perfectly parallel; that the preference of the Itala is only the preference of the more authentic records of the same version, preserved in the country whence the Gospel had come to Africa; it is a question of manuscripts and recensions, and by no means of versions.

3. Nothing further seems wanting to complete the solution of the proposed difficulty regarding the Itala, but that it should be critically or practically verified. If St. Augustine brought his manuscripts from Italy, and used them in Africa, does his text present the appearances naturally consequent to such a supposition? Does he, though using essentially the same version as the African Fathers, still on some occasions depart from them in a marked manner, when they agree among themselves, and then coincide with the Italian Fathers? The discussion of this point would involve us in a long examination of various readings, which could not possibly prove interesting to the generality of readers, even should the preceding details have proved so. We must therefore be brief. Several years ago, when pursuing the critical study of Scripture with more leisure, I paid some attention to this point. Though soon interrupted, the examination satisfied me to such a degree, that the theory of the Vulgate here presented to the public, has been repeatedly delivered in the theological courses of this establishment. I will give a few examples of the various readings of the Italian and African Fathers, from some of the first Psalms; whence it will appear, that St. Augustine departs from the African Fathers, and

classes with the Italian, wherever the writers of the two nations decidedly range themselves upon opposite sides.

Ps. i. *Psalt. Rom. et Mediol., Codd. Corbej., Sangerm., Amb., Hil., Cassiod., etc.* read "In lege Domini *fuit* voluntas ejus." *Tert., Cyp., Opt.* (*opus imperf. in Mat.*) omit the *fuit.* St. Augustine agrees with the former; and this reading is *tenacior verborum,* the Greek having ἐστι, and has also greater perspicuity.

ii. Tertullian and St. Optatus consider it as the first; St. Augustine, with the Italian Fathers, treats it as the second.

ii. 1. *Cod. Sangerm., Amb., Hil.,* "Quare *fremuerunt* gentes." *Tert., Cyp.,* always "*tumultuatæ sunt.*" St. Aug. with the former.

2. *Sangerm., Amb., Hil.,* "*convenerunt.*" *Teri.* (generally), *Cyp.,* "*congregati sunt.*" St. Aug. with the former.

vi. 6. *Psalt. Rom., Cod. Sangerm., Amb., Hil., Leo, Cassiod., Philast., etc.* have "*in inferno:*" *Tert., Lucif., Calar.,*[a] "*apud inferos.*" St. Aug. with the former.

xviii. 6. *Psalteria, Cod. Sangerm., Amb., Hil., Cassiod., Maximus Taur., Philast.,* "sponsus *procedit.*" *Tert., Cyp.,* "*egrediens.*" St. Aug. with the former.

I must leave the farther prosecution of this examination to some critic possessed of more leisure than falls to my lot. It is a toilsome, and often an ungrateful, task; for in general, the various readings are a mass of irregularity and confusion, referable to no law, and hardly open to plausible conjecture. Still, in the portion examined, I doubt whether a single instance

[a] I consider him an African writer, because Sardinia was really considered as forming the seventh province of Africa, and was part of its diocese. The connection, too, of the two countries is sufficiently marked in ecclesiastical history.

can be produced, where the African writers stand in united opposition to those of Italy, without St. Augustine siding with the latter. This is sufficient to clear up all difficulties. For while the Fathers of different countries agree sufficiently to prove that they all used the same version, their occasional separation into national classes proves the existence of distinct geographical recensions. And the fact that St. Augustine always agrees with the Italians, added to the historical proofs already given, demonstrates that he used the Italian recension, and not the African; and that he forms a testimony, not of the African but of the Italian Church, in all critical questions regarding Scripture. The important consequences which will be deduced from this conclusion, will justify the length of the discussion. To have given to the words of St. Augustine, on the *Itala*, a sense consistent with facts, with his own history and his quotations, and with the total silence of all other ancient writers, will, I trust, be also considered a sufficient apology for want of discretion in the present disquisition.

But, excusable as it may be, I feel that my readers have acquired a right to forget what originally led to it, and to expect to be brought back to the point whence we started. It was simply this: St. Augustine, in all his other works, omits the verse of the Three Witnesses; is not the circumstance of its being found in the Santa-Croce manuscript a sufficient proof that the work was not written by that Father? It was to answer this objection that this long discussion was primarily undertaken; and the answer which it furnishes is this:—St. Augustine, in his ordinary works, used the Italian recension from which the verse had been lost at an early period. His *Speculum*, as we learn from Posidius, was written for the unlearned,

and hence he made use in it of the African recension, which universally contained the verse. I requested the learned monk who has undertaken the publication of the work, to pay particular attention to its various readings, with this view; and he has assured me that they generally agree with the African Fathers in a very remarkable manner.

In the next letter, we will examine the testimony of this manuscript, on the hypothesis that St. Augustine is not its author, and proceed to notice some other points connected with this celebrated controversy. I remain, &c.,

N. WISEMAN.

ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME, *June* 26, 1832.

LETTER THE SECOND.

DEAR SIR,—Having discussed the question, whether St. Augustine be the author of the treatise contained in the Santa-Croce manuscript, we must now proceed, according to promise, to investigate what degree of authority it possesses in the controversy of the Three Witnesses, on the supposition that it is the production of a more obscure author. Let me premise a few words on its age and country.

Perhaps a more minute examination of the treatise than it is at present in my power to make, might give more clues than have been gathered from hasty observation: these, however, may prove sufficient for our purpose. The exact manner in which several propositions are laid down, regarding the Trinity, shows that it was composed after the controversies upon that great dogma had arisen in the Church. The chapter from which I have quoted the verse of St. John is

headed, "De distinctione *personarum*." Now the word *persona* does not seem to have been used in the marked sense which it here bears, until the third century. Dr. Waterland has remarked, that it is applied by Tertullian to the *hypostases*, or persons of the Trinity.[b] And in fact, in the work of that writer against Praxea, the word occurs frequently, especially from the eleventh to the fifteenth chapters.[c] But still, it hardly seems to have become so early a defined theological term. Facundus Hermianensis says, that it only began to be used in the Church upon occasion of the Sabellian heresy, in 257. His words are: "Personarum autem nomen nonnisi cum Sabellius impugnaret Ecclesiam, necessario in usum prædicationis assumptum est, ut qui semper tres *crediti* sunt . . . communi personarum nomine vocarentur."[d] But this assertion stands in direct opposition to that of St. Gregory Nazianzen, that Sabellianism arose in the West from the use of this word. The Latins, he says, were compelled,

"Propter egestatem linguæ et rerum novitatem,"

to apply the word person to the B. Trinity; and the consequence was, that Sabellianism arose from a misapplication of the term.[e] To reconcile these conflicting testimonies we have only to say, that the word was indeed in use from the time of Tertullian, though it

[b] Waterland's Works, by Van Mildert, vol. iii. p. 200.

[c] Tert. adv. Prax. pp. 505—508, ed. Rigalt.

[d] Def. trium Capit. lib. ii. p. 19.

[e] Ἀλλ' οὐ δυναμένοις (τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς) διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γλώττης, καὶ ὀνομάτων πενίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀντεισάγουσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ἵνα μὴ τρεῖς οὐσίαι παραδειχθῶσι, τί γίνεται; ὡς λίαν γελοῖον ἢ ἐλεεινόν;—εἶτα Σαβελλιανισμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐπενοήθη τοῖς τρισὶ προσώποις.—Greg. Nazian. De Laud. Athan. Op. Paris, 1602, tom. i. p. 395.

had not yet acquired that decided, definite, theological determination, which the Sabellian controversy, and later, the disagreement at the Council of Alexandria, necessarily gave it. But the manner in which it is used in our treatise shows this to have been composed at a time when this determination had been given.

There is another circumstance which brings this treatise to a later period. After the section which we have quoted for the text of St. John, is another, directed expressly to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost. This gives reason to suppose, that the controversy upon that important dogma, as distinct from the general question of the Trinity, had already commenced. This will bring down the age of this treatise to the time of the Macedonians, or the middle of the fourth century. The use of the old version in it will not allow us to assign it a much later age, nor indeed could we be justified in doing so, by any single consideration drawn from the work itself.

There can be no difficulty in deciding the country to which the treatise belongs. The circumstance of its being united in the same volume with a work of St. Cyprian, which follows it immediately, gives a *primâ facie* evidence in favour of its being African. But this point is completely decided by the marked coincidence of its readings with those of the African Fathers. The publication of the original will place this important point beyond dispute.

Perhaps, to some readers, it will appear of little consequence to have gained the testimony of an unknown African writer of the fourth century, in favour of the verse. I must, however, acknowledge myself to be of quite a different opinion. We must consider the additional testimony of any African writer of greater authority than that of one from any other part of the

Western Church. And the reason for this preference may appear to many still farther paradoxical; it is because all the authorities hitherto discovered may be said to be African.

Every one versed in biblical pursuits will be acquainted with that great critical principle, first laid down by Bengel, but not fully established and acted upon till the publication of Griesbach's recensions, that the testimonies in favour of a various reading have not an individual force independent of the recension or family to which they belong; and that a reading must be decided, not by the number of distinct authorities, but by the weight of the recension which contains it.

It is plain that the same principle will apply to any other text as well as to the Greek, in which recensions can be recognised. Having shown that this is the case with the old Vulgate, we may fairly try the evidence in favour of the contested verse of St. John, upon this principle. Now it has been sufficiently observed by all writers upon the controversy, that almost all the testimonies in favour of the verse are African. St. Cyprian, Marcus Celedensis, St. Fulgentius, Victor Vitensis, the four hundred bishops assembled under Hunneric, at Carthage, were all members of the African Church. Maximus the Confessor learnt the passage from the same country;[f] Eucherius was a Spaniard, and his text is too uncertain to be quoted; Phebadius was a monk of Lerins; both, therefore, probably in communication with the African Church. But while so many authors have observed this consent of writers belonging to one church, they have not placed their testimony in its proper light. They have spoken

[f] See Nolan's Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, p. 302.

of them as so many African writers, or even as the body of the African Church, bearing witness to the existence of a passage, but not as the representatives of the African *recension* or *text*, as the voice of a great critical family, whose antiquity and authority, as compared with that of other texts, must be critically ascertained.

Bearing in mind these facts, and especially the one established in the first letter, that the African and Italian Fathers separate into distinct classes, not merely upon this verse, but in many other passages, sufficient to prove the difference of their recensions, I proceed to make such observations as may bear upon the general controversy, in connection with the Santa-Croce manuscript.

1. The existence of an African recension containing the verse, gives us a right to consider as quotations passages of African writers, which, in the works of Italian authors, might be considered doubtful. It is by insisting upon the incomplete form of the citations in Tertullian and St. Cyprian, that Griesbach and others have endeavoured to convert them into mere mystical interpretations. Now, the certainty, acquired by the examination of later testimonies, that the entire Church to which they belonged knew and quoted the verse, gives us just critical grounds for assuming theirs to be real quotations. The system followed by the opposers of the text, of attributing to respect for St. Cyprian and Tertullian, first the allusion to the preceding verse, and then its conversion into a new text, is utterly untenable. These two writers were held in equal, perhaps in greater, veneration in Italy; and there is no reason why their writings should have influenced other African authors more than their admirers beyond the sea. And at any rate, why did not

St. Augustine follow the same course? why was he not led to *argue*, as the other African writers are said to have done, from the eighth verse allegorically explained? Why is he said never to have quoted the verse?

2. But if, instead of an argument, we consider these passages as quotations; if instead of African writers, we will only speak of the African text, we remove a difficulty which has appeared insoluble to all parties,—the silence of St. Augustine. It has been observed, with great appearance of strength, by a late writer,[g] that this Father, who has written so much upon this Epistle, has furnished Sabatier with materials for restoring the whole of it up to this point, and returns to his assistance immediately after it; but totally fails him in this verse. This, at first sight, appears a negative argument of considerable strength. I would even allow that, upon the ordinary view of the controversy, it is unanswerable. But the positions already laid down remove every difficulty. The verse belongs essentially to the African text, and this writer used the Italian. All anomaly, all difficulty, is at an end. We might indeed almost venture to say, that were the verse to be found in St. Augustine's works, the circumstance would require an explanation. This could probably be easily found, and I have suggested it on a former occasion, from his connection with the African Church, and the propriety he might occasionally find, of adopting a less favourite text, to consult the feelings or utility of the people. But still, in all classifications or distributions into families, it is the sporadic varieties, as they are called by naturalists, which perplex and disarrange. The more rounded and

g Horæ Biblicæ, by C. Butler, Esq. Works. Lond. 1817, vol. i. p. 396.

decidedly pronounced the limits of each class, the more defined the laws and circumstances by which they are regulated, the freer they are from exceptions, the more determinate likewise the extent and value of each: so much the more satisfactory is all reasoning upon them. So far then from St. Augustine's silence being a difficulty in proving the text, it rather removes an embarrassment.

3. From these remarks it follows, that the discovery of an early African writer, however insignificant in other respects, who quotes the disputed verse, goes farther to strengthen the real evidence in its favour than the testimony of an Italian writer of far greater celebrity; because the former would always tend to consolidate and complete the authority of a recension, while the other would only give an individual and an *anomalous* voice. And this principle defines the weight of the testimony afforded by the Santa-Croce manuscript. It is a new addition to the combined evidence of the African writers, in favour of the verse having existed in the text or recension of that Church.

Having thus reduced the controversy to a contest between two recensions, the African and Italian, it remains to inquire—which of these has claims to the greater authority; which can justly be considered the true representative of the original version? For should it appear highly probable, or even certain, that the Latin translation was really made in Africa, and that consequently the African text, preserved by the writers of that Church, ascends to a higher antiquity not only than the Italian, but than any Greek manuscript in existence, we gain an argument much more compact, defined, and solid, for the authenticity of the controverted verse, than by the usual balancing of quotations and texts.

Mr. Nolan has given several reasons why the authority of the African Church should be considered grave and weighty on this point;[h] but does not enter upon the only true means of deciding the controversy, the determination of, which is the original text.

It is but justice, not so much to myself as to the cause which I am upholding, to premise that the examination which follows was undertaken, like that in my former letter, without reference to this controversy, being the result of inquiries made for academical purposes, when treating of the Vulgate in a course of theological lectures.

A palimpsest of a Latin antehieronyman version having been discovered some years ago at Würtzburg, Dr. Feder transcribed all that was legible, comprising Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. These fragments he transmitted to the late learned Dr. Münter, bishop of Seeland, who published an account of them in a letter addressed to the well-known M. Grégoire. This appeared in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for March, 1819, p. 545. The letter is dated Copenhagen, February 7. In this letter he supposes these fragments to be of African origin; he says they cannot belong to the Itala, because they want the "perspicuity of sentence." He promises to publish them: and if I remember right, they have been given in the third number of the *Miscellanea Hafnensia;* but not having that journal at hand, I cannot ascertain it at present: I have certainly seen them in some such publication.

Eichhorn, however, was the first author who hazarded a general conjecture that the Latin Vulgate was originally made in Africa. This is strictly a conjecture, for he attempts no demonstration of his grounds. The principal, or rather the only real one is, the barbarism

[h] Inquiry, p. 295.

of the language in which it is written.[i] Against the term barbarism, we must protest; and we have the suffrage for so doing of the celebrated lexicographer Gesner, who used to say that he considered the Vulgate as a classical author, since it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its full extent.[k]

Instead of such vague conjecture, let us try to collect some specific proofs, tending, in my humble opinion, to demonstrate, that Africa is the birthplace of the Latin version.

First, it may be remarked, that Greek literature was brought into such repute in Italy, under the Cæsars, but especially under Trajan and the Antonines, that a version of the Scriptures would be there hardly necessary. It is singular that almost all the names which occur in the history of the early Roman Church are Greek; as Cletus, Anacletus, Soter, Eleutherius, Linus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Hyginus. Several of these were in fact Greeks by birth, and their election to the pontificate indicates the preponderance of that nation in the Roman Church, and the acquaintance of their flock with the Greek language. But this is much better demonstrated by the fact, that for the two first centuries, and even later, we have hardly a single instance of an ecclesiastical writer, belonging to the Italian Church, composing his works in any language but Greek.

The epistle of St. Clement, or Clemens *Romanus* as he is emphatically called, was written about the year 96, in Greek.[l] He was really a Roman by birth, but there is nothing in his writings to indicate either that he used a translator, or wrote that language with an

[i] Einleitung in das A. T. Ed. 4, Götting. 1823, vol. ii. p. 406.

[k] Michaelis's Introd. by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 116.

[l] Eusebius, H. E. lib. iii. c. xvi. p. 107, ed. Reading.

effort. We may add, that the letter is written in the name of the whole Roman Church.

I need not mention St. Justin and Tatian; as neither can be said to have been a member of the Italian Church, though both published their Greek writings in Rome.

Modestus, who is placed by Cave about the year 176, seems by his name to have been a Latin, and yet appears to have written in Greek; for St. Jerome says, "Feruntur sub nomine ejus et alia συνταγματα."[m] Eusebius mentions him in conjunction with St. Irenæus.[n]

There seems no reason to doubt that the correspondence between the churches of Rome and Corinth, under Soter, was carried on in Greek.[o]

St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in 178, wrote his works entirely in the same language. The celebrated letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, is likewise in Greek.

St. Jerome says that Tertullian is the oldest Latin writer after Victor and *Apollonius*.[p] The first is undoubtedly the pope of that name: the history of the second is more obscure. In St. Jerome's catalogue, two writers of this name are mentioned. The second of these was a Roman senator, who composed an Apology, and certainly wrote in Greek.[q] For in another place he is mentioned among Greek writers;[r] and there is no doubt but he is the same person whose Apology Eusebius published.[s] He probably wrote some other works in Latin: it is sufficient for our present pur-

[m] De Viris Illust. c. xxxii. tom. ii. p. 858, ed. Vallars.
[n] Lib. iv. c. 25, p. 188.
[o] Ib. lib. v. c. xxi. p. 239.
[p] Lo. cit. c. liii. p. 875.
[q] Ib. c. xlii. p. 869.
[r] Ep. ad Magn. lxx. tom. i. p. 427.
[s] H. E. lib. v. c. 21, p. 189.

pose that he should have indifferently used either language.

Caius, the celebrated Roman priest, about 212, is generally acknowledged to have drawn up his numerous treatises in the Greek language. This is solidly established by Tillemont, followed by Lardner.[t]

The dialogue against Artemon, the author of which is unknown, appears manifestly, from the fragments given by Eusebius,[u] and from other circumstances, to have been written at Rome by some ecclesiastic; and yet it seems undoubtedly to have been composed in Greek.

Asterius Urbanus seems by his name to have been an Italian, and yet appears to have written and disputed in Greek. His work was dedicated to Abercius Marcellus. By Eusebius's account, it was accident that led him to Galatia, where his conferences took place.[x]

St. Hippolytus Portuensis is supposed by some to have been bishop of Portus Romanus, or Adan, in Arabia; by others, of Portus, now Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber. The grounds for both opinions may be seen in Lardner,[y] who, however, has omitted the circumstance that the church of Porto, and a well there held in great veneration, bear his name. The question is immaterial; Hippolytus lived and wrote in Rome. His paschal cycle may be seen engraved on his chair in the Vatican Library. It is in Greek, as were all his works.

From these instances, the only ones on record, it appears that Victor was the only author belonging to

[t] Works. Lond. 1827, vol. i. p. 396.
[u] Lib. v. c. 28, p. 195, seqq.
[x] Ib. c. 16, p. 182.
[y] Ubi sup. p. 426.

the Roman, Italian, or Gallic Church, who is recorded to have written in Latin before A.D. 230; and there are not wanting grounds to conjecture that he likewise understood Greek. In the mean time, not a Greek ecclesiastical writer appears in Africa, while, on the other hand, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, and Minucius Felix, who are the earliest Latin Fathers, were of that nation. Add to this, that St. Mark's Gospel is acknowledged by ancient writers to have been drawn up for the instruction of the Roman Church, and yet was written in Greek; and that St. Paul addressed his epistle to that Church in the same language. It would be strange that they should have acted thus, if a translation into Latin had been necessary; and we must therefore conclude that Greek was perfectly understood by the faithful there; and so it would continue for some time. This in fact appears from the proofs given above.

From these reflections results a strong ground of historical probability that the first Latin version was not made in Italy, but in Africa. And this is more than a mere conjecture. For we have positive proof, in the quotations of African writers, that such a version did exist in their country before the fourth century; while the whole historical evidence which we possess regarding Italy, leads us to conclude that the Greek text was used there till the commencement of that age. Now, having in my former letter shown that the version used in the two countries was identical, it will follow that the Italian text was imported from Africa.

But the most satisfactory method of determining the country of the Vulgate must be by an examination of its words and phrases. The result of such an examination will be twofold. First, we shall discover

that it abounds in archaisms, or antiquated forms of expression, only found in writers anterior to the Augustan age. This will plead strongly for the provincial origin of the version; since such peculiarities would be longer preserved at a distance than in the vicinity of the capital. And whoever has made any study of the African writers of the first centuries, will have remarked how many of these are preserved by them.[z] In the examples now to be produced, this will sometimes appear. Indeed, it is probable that the old Vulgate may have originally contained more of these archaisms than now remain, in consequence of its various corrections. For instance, the old copy of St. Matthew, published by Monsignor Mai, in his *Sciptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, tom. iii. Rome, 1828, has, Matt. iv. 18 (p. 257), the word *retiam* for *retem*. Now this confirms the same reading in Plautus, quoted by Priscian:[a] "Nam tunc et operam ludos fecisset et *retiam*."[b] Secondly, we shall discover many decided Africanisms, or expressions found in none but African writers, nearest in age to the old version.[c]

[z] Arnobius, for instance, often uses words and grammatical forms manifestly antiquated. It would be easy to give many examples. Thus, lib. i. *adv. Gent.* p. 35 (Lugd. Batav. 1651), he uses the word *Stribiligines*. Of this word Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* lib. v. cap. xx. p. 341 (ed. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1706), says: "*Solœcismus*.. *vetustioribus* Latinis *stribiligo* dicebatur, quasi *sterobiligo* quædam." In the passage referred to, of Arnobius, he is excusing the rude style of Scripture; probably of the original. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* Again, Arnobius often uses the old form of the passive infinitive, as p. 160, *velarier* and *coronarier*; p. 186, *convestirier*. See note, p. 5.

[a] P. 759, ed. Putsch. This is the edition which I shall always quote, of the grammarians.

[b] *Rud.* act. iv. sc. i. 9.

[c] Whoever has read the early Christian writers belonging to the African Church, must be struck with the family air which prevails through them, chiefly in the use of particular words and forms, not

The principal of these is of course Tertullian. The examples which will be given, and which may at least suffice to turn the attention of more skilful philologers to the subject, will be almost confined to the New Testament, the Psalms, and Ecclesiasticus, which have been preserved from the old Vulgate in the version used by the Church. I will place the references to authors in the text, not to confuse and fatigue the reader by referring him every moment to the foot of the page.

I. A common archaism, or, as it is often erroneously called, solecism, in the old version, is the use of deponents with a passive signification. Priscian expressly tells us that this is an archaism:—"Ex his multa *antiqui* tam passiva quam activa significatione protulisse inveniuntur" (p. 790). Again; "Multa similiter ancipiti terminatione, in una eademque significatione prætulerunt *antiqui*" (p. 799). Whence it appears that these deponent verbs were anciently active. In another

commonly found, except perhaps occasionally in old writers. Thus the word *striculus*, or, as some editions write it, *hystriculus*, for "a boy," occurs only in Arnobius (lib. v. p. 174) and Tertullian (*De Pallio*, c. iv.). The older editions have *ustricolas*, which makes no sense. Arnobius often uses *qu* instead of *c*, as "*arquata* sella" (lib. ii. p. 59), *arquitenens*, *hirquinus* (p. 165), &c. This arises from a confusion common in old writers. We find the same interchange of letters, though in the contrary form (*c* being used for *qu*), in Tertullian, who, for example, has *licet* for *liquet*. (*De Pœnit.* c. vi. I quote here, accidentally, from the old Paris ed. of 1545; in other places from Rigaltius's edition.) Plautus and Terence made the same confusion. Heraldus (*Animadv. ad Arnob.* p. 77) seems to consider this an Africanism; but from Gellius's remarks on *Insece* and *inseque*, it seems to have been common to old writers. (Lib. xiii. c. 9, p. 282.) I could bring together many other instances; several will occur in the text. It would be also easy to point out other resemblances of phraseology between Tertullian and Lactantius, or St. Cyprian; but this is not necessary.

place (p. 797), he says of deponent verbs: "Præterea plurima inveniuntur *apud vetustissimos* quæ contra consuetudinem, activam pro passiva habent terminationem." Among these he enumerates *consolo* and *horto*. Aulus Gellius (lib. xv. c. 13, p. 681) says precisely the same of these two verbs. Both words occur passively, 2 Cor. i. 6. The first is also used, Psalm cxviii. 52; Luke xvii. 25.

A similar instance is Heb. xiii. 16: "Talibus enim hostiis *promeretur* Deus." That *mereo*, in the past tenses, was often used, could easily be shown by reference to the classics. *Promereo*, however, does not appear to have been used by writers of the golden age with the same facility. Nonius (*De Cont. Gen. Verb.* Opp. p. 475, ed. Par. 1641) has an article on *promeres*, for *promereris;* and quotes Plautus (*Trinum.* act. iii. sc. ii. 15) for it. It occurs often in him (as *Amphit.* act. v. sc. ii. 12) and Terence (*And.* act. ii. sc. i. 30; *Adelph.* act. ii. sc. i. 47). It is also used by Ovid, and perhaps some others. But besides the evident archaism of the word, it seems to merit notice from its signification of *propitiating by sacrifice*, which it does not bear in any classical writer; and, as far as I know, occurs nowhere but in Arnobius, an African, who says: "Ita nihil prodest *promereri* velle per hostias Deos lævos." (*Adv. Gent.* lib. vii. p. 229.)

The passive *ministrari* often occurs in the New Testament; as Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45; 2 Cor. viii. 19, 20; 2 Peter i. 11. This is hardly to be found in true Italian writers. Plautus is quoted by Nonius as having "Boni *ministrantur*, illum nunc irrident mali." The older editions, however, as the one quoted above (p. 138), have "Boni *immiserantur*, illhunc irrident mali." Columella also, a native of Cadiz, though an elegant writer, uses the word (lib. xii. 1).

The termination of the future of verbs of the [illegible] conjugation in *ibo* is preserved occasionally by the translator of the Vulgate, as Psalm lix. 8, *partibor* and *metibor*, and is set down by the old grammarians as an antiquated form. Nonius gives many examples always from the oldest writers; as Ennius, Accius, Novius. These are *reddibo*, *expedibo* (p. 476), *exaudibo*, *invenibo* (p. 479), *audibo* (p. 505), *aperibo* (p. 506), *operibo* and *oboedibo* (p. 506), &c. It is singular that Charisius (*Instit. Gram.* p. 222, ed. Putsch) should give *feribo* as the regular future of *ferio*. Yet Horace has (*Od.* ii. 17, v. 32), "Nos humilem *feriemus* agnum." He has, however (*Od.* iii. 23, v. 19), "*Mollibit* adversos Penates." The form, nevertheless, always remains a decided archaism.

In the old Vulgate, the verb *odio* was used even more markedly than now appears; though as yet some tenses not used in the classics remain; as *odientes*. So in the fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel before referred to, in ch. v. ver. 44 (p. 259), we have *odiunt*, and again, vi. 24 (p. 260), *odiet*. Tertullian quotes: "Non *odies* fratrem tuum," from Levit. xix. 6 (*adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 35), where St. Augustine reads *odio habebis*. (Quæst. lxx. in Levit. tom. iii. p. 520.) Festus (*sub voce*) says the ancients used the verb *odio;* but examples are hardly to be met, except in Tertullian, who has *odientes* (*ib.* c. xvi.), *oditur* (*Apolog.* c. iii.). It is once attributed to Petronius Arbiter; but *audientes* is the better reading. Were it not for the authority of Festus, I should consider this an Africanism.

Matt. xxii. 30, we have the word *nubentur*. Nonius tells us, that "nubere, *veteres*, non solum mulieres sed viros dicebant." (p. 143.) The expression may thus be considered an archaism; however, it is used this

way almost exclusively by African writers. Tertullian says (*ad Uxor.* lib. i. c. 1), "Apud Patriarchas, non modo *nubere*, sed etiam multifariam matrimoniis uti fas fuit." (Cf. c. 7.) Again (*adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 38), "Præstruxit hic quidem *nubi*, ubi sit et mori." So Plautus (*Persæ.* act. iii. sc. i. 58), "Cujusmodi hic cum fama facile *nubitur*." St. Jerome also, who often seems to imitate the African writers, whom he so much admired, uses it; but perhaps he alludes to the text of St. Matt. (Ep. xxii. No. 19.)

Ps. lxi. 7. "*Emigrabit* te de tabernaculo tuo." A manifest archaism. It is quoted by Nonius from Titinnius (p. 2). "Quot pestes, senia, jurgia *sesemet* diebus *emigrarunt*;" corrected by later critics into "sese meis ædibus emigrarunt." Gellius uses it:[d] "Atque ita cassita nidum *migravit*." (Lib. ii. c. xxx. p. 201.) Thysicus, in his Commentary, remarked that it is an obsolete phrase. Gronovius denies it, and appeals to Cicero (*De Offic.* lib. i. c. 10). But though he uses it there and elsewhere (as *De Fin.* lib. iii. c. 20; *De Leg.* lib. iii. c. 4), it is always in the sense of transgressing a law or duty; in which Tertullian also has (*De Cor. Mil.* c. 18), "Nec dubita quosdam scripturas *emigrare*." But the meaning of these words is very obscure.

I hardly know whether I should instance the phrase *contumeliam facere*, which occurs often; as 2 Mac. vii. 27; Luke xi. 47; Heb. xi. 29, and once in St. Jerome's

[d] The occurrence of a phrase in A. Gellius can be no argument of its not being an archaism. On the contrary, his constant study of the older writers familiarized him with their expressions, and led him to use them. Hence Salmasius says of him, "Antonianorum ævo Agellius (A. Gellius) politissime et elegantissime scripsit, et prorsus ἀρχαικὸν dicendi modum imitatus est." (*De Hellen.* p. 37.) Hence we shall often see him in the text confirming alone expressions found in Tertullian, or other writers of his class.

version, Mic. vii. 6. Some readers will probably remember Cicero's severe criticism on the expression when used by Antonius. (*Phil.* iii. § 9.) "Quid porro *facere contumeliam?* quis sic loquitur?" This, however, does not apply to our phrase; as Quintilian (*Inst.* lib. ix. c. 3) tells us it had been there used passively, in the same manner as we may say, *injuriæ jacturam.* The passage of Cicero has nevertheless been a fruitful field for ingenious critics, as my readers may satisfy themselves by consulting Muretus (*Var. Lec.* lib. vi. c. 18), or the elder Gronovius (*Observat.* lib. iii. c. 8, ed. 2, p. 488). However, I believe the phrase, even actively, will hardly be found in any but the oldest writers. It occurs in a fragment of a speech by Q. Metellus Numidicus, preserved by A. Gellius (lib. xii. c. ix. p. 564): "Tanto vobis quam mihi majorem *contumeliam facit.*" It is remarkable how Gellius, having to repeat the sentiment in his own name, carefully avoids this turn, and explains it by "majori vos contumelia affecit quam me." It is also found in Plautus (*Asin.* act. ii. sc. iv. 82) and Terence (*Hecyr.* act. iii. sc. v.; *Phorm.* act. v. sc. vii.).

Thus far I have given a few specimens of the archaisms of the old Vulgate, many of which are to be found principally in African writers. I will now proceed to give what I consider examples of its Africanisms.

II. We cannot fail to be struck with the extraordinary number of words compounded with *super*, which occur in the parts of the Vulgate belonging to the old version. I will give a list of those which are not to be found in any profane writer; and it is singular to observe, in contrast, that St. Jerome in his part has not one which is not sanctioned by classical authorities, except *superexaltatus*, which he preserved from the

old version. Ps. xxxiv. 19, 24, xxxvii. 17, *supergaudeo;* xxxvi. 35, Jac. ii. 12, *superexalto;* Ps. lvii. 9, *supercado;* lxxi. 16, *superextollo;* cxviii. 43, etc. *superspero;* Eccles. xliii. 32, *supervaleo;* 4 Esdras (*Apocrypha*) vii. 23, *superdico;* xv. 6, *superpolluo;* 29, *superinvalesco;* vi. 20, *supersignor;* Matt. vi. 11, *supersubstantialis;* xiii. 25, *supersemino;* xxv. 20, *superlucror;* Luc. vi. 38, *supereffluens;* x. 35, *supererogo;* 1 Cor. vii. 36, *superadultus;* 2 Cor. v. 4, *supervestior;* xvi. 15, *superimpendor;* Jud. iii. *supercerto.* I have given this long list, because it seems decidedly to point out a class of words indicative of a dialectic tendency. To it I may add the word *superædifico,* which occurs seven times in the New Testament, though nowhere among classical writers. Perhaps these words abounded even more in older copies; for Tertullian (*adv. Gnostic.* c. 13), quoting Rom. viii. 37, has the verb *supervenio;* whereas our copies have *supero.* Now it is singular to observe precisely the same tendency in the writings of this African, nearest in age to the Latin version; and I will therefore give a list of words of the same form, found in no other ancient writer but himself: *Superinduco* (*adv. Hermog.* c. 26); *superargumentor* (*ib.* c. 37); *superacervo* (*adv. Nat.* lib. i. c. 15); *superfrutico* (*adv. Valent.* c. 39); *superinductitius* (*adv. Marcion.* lib. v. c. 3); *superordino* (*ib.* c. 5); *superindumentum* (*ib.* c. 12; *De Resur. Car.* c. 42); *superextollo* (*De Resur.* c. 24); *superterrenus* (*ib.* c. 49); *supercœlestis* (*ib.* et *De Anima,* c. 23); *superinundo* (*ib.* c. ult.); *supermundialis* (*De Anima,* c. 18); *supersapio* (*ib.*); *superseminator* (*ib.* c. 16); *supermetior* (*ib.* c. 38); *supernomino* (*Apol.* c. 18); *superscendo* (*De Pœnit.* c. 10); *supervecto* (*De Baptis.* c. 4). And to come to one specific comparison, Tertullian has also the word *superædificatio* (*adv. Mar-*

cion. lib. v. c. 6), which is likewise used by Victorinus, no less an African. (*Mai. Scriptor. Vet.* ut sup. p. 112.) Certainly, it would be difficult, or rather impossible, to cull from any other two such small collections of writings as those I have cited, such a number of compound words of the same form, not to be found elsewhere. For both in the Vulgate and Tertullian, or rather the small portions of each which I have quoted, I have passed over many compounds of this form, which they respectively have in common with other writers.

Another no less striking class of words, peculiar to the Vulgate and African writers, consists of verbs terminating in *ifico;* many of which were afterwards received as established ecclesiastical words. The following instances may suffice to illustrate this point. *Mortifico* is often used for *to kill.* Ps. xxxvi. 42; xliii. 22; lxxviii. 11; Rom. viii. 36, &c. St. Jerome has once or twice adopted it into his version. Even in those passages, where, from the ecclesiastical use of the word, we translate it by *mortify,* as Rom. vii. 4; viii. 13, it in reality signifies to *kill;* as *mortificatio,* 2 Cor. iv. 10, undoubtedly signifies *death,* or as the Douay version renders it, *dying.* But upon these renderings I may have occasion to speak more at length on another occasion. Suffice it to say, that this verb *mortifico,* with its derivatives, is nowhere found in classical authors, but is most common in Tertullian, who uses it without the least reference to these texts. Thus (*De Resur.* c. 57), "Caro non prodest quidquam, *mortificatur* enim." Again (*adv. Marc.* lib. v. c. 9): "Quod si sic in Christo vivificamur omnes, sicut *mortificamur* in Adam, quando in Adam corpore *mortificamur,* sic necesse est et in Christo corpore *vivificemur.* Cæterum similitudo non constat, si non in eadem sub-

stantia *mortificationis* in Adam, *vivificatio* occurret in Christo." It may be proper to notice a passage in Festus (*De Verb. Signif.* Amst. 1700, lib. ix. p. 253), who explains the word *munitio* by *mortificatio ciborum.* Scaliger proposes to read *morsificatio.* Meursius, however, prefers retaining the usual reading, but deriving the word from *mortare conterere,* which is not, I believe, to be found in any ancient writer. *Vivifico* is another scriptural word not used by profane writers. It is almost superfluous to cite examples, as it occurs in nearly every book. St. Jerome was driven to the necessity of often adopting it, as the idea of giving or restoring life is so essentially Christian, that no heathen word could have been found to express it. We have seen examples from Tertullian both of the verb and substantive. He also has the word *vivificator* (*De Resur.* c. 37; *adv. Marc.* ii. 9). *Glorifico* occurs as frequently as the last word, and has been likewise received into the second Vulgate. The oldest authority for it is once more Tertullian. (*Idol.* c. 22; *adv. Prax.* c. 25, sæpius.) *Clarifico* is found only in the old version, as, 3 Esd. viii. 28, 82; ix. 53; Jo. xii. 18, 23, 28, &c.; Gal. i. 24, and elsewhere. The older editions of Pliny had the word (*Hist. Nat.* lib. xx. c. 13), in the sense of *clearing* ("*visum clarificat*"); but F. Hardouin, from MSS., restored *compurgat.* The oldest authority for its biblical sense is Lactantius (lib. iii. c. 18); and the noun *clarificatio* is first met with in St. Augustine (*De Div. Quæst.* c. lxii. tom. vi. p. 37), both Africans. *Sanctifico* is another verb unknown to profane writers, yet found very frequently in the Vulgate. It is used by Tertullian, in commenting on the Lord's Prayer (*De Orat.* c. 3), and in other places (*Exhort. ad Cast.* c. 7), as also *sanctificator* (*adv. Prax.* c. 2; *S. Aug. Conf.* lib. x. c. 34), and *sanctificatio* (*Exhort.* c. 1).

Salvifico belongs to the same class, and occurs 27, 47. Sedulius uses it, but evidently in all this passage (lib. vi. 7). Tertullian, according to editions, has the word *salvificator* (*De Pudic.* c. 21) "*Salvificator* omnium hominum maxime fidelium." The older editions, however, have *salutificator*. *Justifico* is another common scriptural term unknown to the classics, and is to be found in almost every book of Tertullian, in every possible form. (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 19, iv. 17; *De Orat.* c. 13, &c.) *Magnifico* too, is often used in a sense unknown to classical writers, for, to *make great;* as Ps. xvii. 54; lvi. 11. I do not know that it is found in this sense in Tertullian. We have thus eight examples of words of a peculiar form, perfectly unknown to the classics, but almost all in common use among African writers, nearest to the age of the Vulgate. But were it to be urged that even these may have derived them from this version, and that, if inventions, they may equally be the productions of Italy, I would reply, that decidedly this does not appear probable. For, besides these words, others of the very same form are constantly to be found in these African writers, known to no other authors; and therefore it seems probable that they were in the habit of using or coining such words, and that with them this was a favourite form. To give a few instances: Tertullian has the extraordinary word *angelifico* (*De Resur. Car.* c. 25): "Quæ illam (carnem) manent in regno Dei reformatam et *angelificatam*." He has also the derivatives *salutificator* (*ib.* c. 47; *De Car. Christi*, c. 14), and *vestificina* (*De Pallio*, c. 3), and *deificus* (*Apol.* c. 11). In like manner Arnobius often uses the word *auctifico* for to *honour*, especially the gods by sacrifice (*adv. Gent.* pp. 224, 233); a word peculiar to himself, as the others are to Tertullian.

Ephes. v. 4, we have the word *stultiloquium;* Matt. vi. 7, *multiloquium;* preserved also in Prov. x. 19. These words are probably found in no ancient writer but Plautus, who has *stultiloquium* (*Mil. Glor.* act. ii. sc. iii. 25), *stultiloquus* (*Pers.* act. iv. sc. iii. 45), and *stultiloquentia* (*Trinum.* act. i. sce. ii. 185); in like manner, *multiloquium* (*Mercat.* prolog. 31), *multiloquus* (*Pseud.* act. iii. sc. ii. 5; *Cistel.* act. i. sc. iii. 1). What strongly confirms the Africanism of these compounds is the recurrence of similar forms in Tertullian; as *turpiloquium* (*De Pudicit.* c. 17), *spurciloquium* (*De Resurrec. Car.* c. 4), and even *risiloquium* (*De Pœnit.* c. 10). The words *vaniloquus* (Tit. i. 10), and *vaniloqiuum* (1 Tim. i. 6), belong to the same class; the first is used, in the sense it has in the text, only by Plautus (*Amph.* act. i. sc. i. 223); though in a different sense, occasionally, by others. The second is found in no ancient author.

The text just quoted has brought another under my eye (Tit. i. 7), where we have the Greek compound αἰσχροκερδῆ rendered by *turpis lucri cupidum.* Plautus uses this very phrase, but in a compound form: "*Turpilucricupidum* vocant te cives tui." (*Trinum.* act. i. sc. ii. 63.)

Condignus is a favourite word with the translator of the old Vulgate. We have it for instance, 2 Mac. iv. 38; Rom. viii. 18. It is often used by Plautus (*Amph.* act. i. sc. iii. 39; see also *Cass.* act. i. v. 42; *Bacch.* act. iii. sc. ii. 8), and once or twice by A. Gellius (pp. 51, 222). It is a common word with Arnobius. (Lib. i. p. 1, 15; ii. 55.)

Minoro and its derivative *minoratio* are entirely confined to the old parts of the Vulgate, where they very frequently occur. The verb for instance, Ps. lxxxviii. 46; Ecclus. xxxi. 40; xli. 3; 2 Mac.

xiii. 19; 2 Cor. viii. 15; Heb. ii. 9; and often elsewhere: the noun, Ecclus. xx. 11; xxxix. 23; xl. 27. These words are only to be found among African writers. Tertullian often uses the verb: "Perit anima si *minoratur*" (*De Anima*, c. 43); "a quo et *minoratus* canitur in psalmo modicum quid citra angelos" (*adv. Prax.* c. 7, repeated in *De Cor. Mil.* c. 14). The noun I have only met in Ferrandus Carthaginiensis, who has, "Æqualitas quippe ejus secundum divinitatem non accepit initium, *minoratio* secundum carnem accepit initium." (*Script. Vet.* ubi sup. p. 172.) Tertullian also has the verb *diminoro*. (*De Anima*, c. 33; *adv. Prax.* c. 15, where *minoro* is repeated.)

Levit. xx. 20, the old version had, "Non accedat ad ministerium Dei si fuerit . . . *ponderosus;*" for which word St. Jerome substituted *herniosus*. Probably the only passage in which this adjective occurs in the same sense is one of Arnobius (lib. vii. p. 240): "Ingentium herniarum magnitudine *ponderosi.*"

A word often used in the old Vulgate, and once adopted by St. Jerome (Zac. xiii. 7), merits our notice, from the peculiar signification it bears. This is *framea*, in the sense of a *sword*, which it always has in the Vulgate; as, Ps. ix. 7; xvi. 7; xxi. 21; 4 Esd. xiii. 9, &c. Tacitus informs us of the origin of this word:—"*Hastas*, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas*, gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum belli habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus *vel eminus* pugnent." (*De Mor. Germ.* c. 6.) Wachter derives the word from the old Teutonic *frumen*, to *throw* (*Glossar. Germ.* Lips. 1737, tom. i. p. 471); but St. Augustine (*Epist.* 140, tom. ii. p. 437; cf. tom. v. p. 1259) expressly tells us that the word meant a *sword;* and thus gives us an African testimony for the

meaning it has in the Vulgate, though quite at variance with the signification it bears in the classics.

Improperium is a word of frequent recurrence in our version, and confined, as well as its verb *impropero*, to the old parts. It is doubtful whether any classical authority exists for either; certainly not for the noun. Some editions have the verb in Plautus (*Rud.* act. iii. sc. iv. 48); but perhaps *opprobras* is the better reading. We meet with both words in some Arian sermons, published by Mai, which appear to me decidedly of African origin:—"Ne ab aliquo super eo *improperium* accipiat." (*Script. Vet.* p. 219.) A few lines lower the verb occurs.

The noun *pascua*, as a feminine, comes often in the old Vulgate; as, Ps. xxii. 2; lxxviii. 13; and has been even preserved in the new. This form is unknown to the classics, but found in Tertullian:—"Quæ illi accuratior *pascua* est." (*Apol.* c. 22.)

The adjective *linguatus* occurs in the book of Ecclesiasticus, viii. 4; xxv. 27. Tertullian once more is the only authority in whom it has been found:—"Apostolus Athenis expertus est *linguatam* civitatem." (*De Anima*, c. 3.)

I do not know whether I should mention the words *salvo*, *salvator*, *salvatio*, for which the earliest authorities are African; as, Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 18), Lactantius, Victorinus (*Scriptor. Vet.* p. 24, et alibi), who has *salvatio*. These words are essentially Christian: hence St. Augustine says: "*Salvare* et *salvator* non fuerunt hæc Latina, antequam veniret Salvator, quando ad Latinos venit, et hæc Latina fecit." (*Serm.* ccxcix. sec. 6, tom. v. p. 1213.) In fact, Cicero tells us that the Greek word σωτὴρ "Latino uno verbo exprimi non potest." (*In Ver.* 4, c. 63.)

Evacuare often occurs in the New Testament, for the Greek καταργέω, to *render useless, destroy*, &c. :— 1 Cor. xiii. 8, 10; xv. 24; Gal. v. 11, and often elsewhere. Occasionally it corresponds to the verb κενόω, as 1 Cor. i. 17. Tertullian, quoting 1 Cor. vi. 13, has, "Deus autem et hunc et hanc *evacuabit*" (*Ep. de Cibis Jud.* post med.), where we now read *destruet*. Thus also he has, in the old editions, "hanc *evacuationem* et subjectionem bestiarum pollicetur." (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 24, al. 40.) He has just quoted Is. xxvii. 1, and consequently means *killing*, or *destruction*. I think I have met with these words in him oftener; but cannot find the places. *Vacuus* is often used by him in the sense of *unsubstantial, not solid;* as, "phanatasma res *vacua*" (*ib.* c. 20); as it is by Arnobius, "periculum cassum et *vacuum*" (lib. ii. p. 44). In the first passage of Tertullian, Rigaltius, it is fair to add, has *erogationem* instead of *evacuationem*.

The word *intentator* (Jac. i. 13) is excessively harsh, and it will be impossible to find any word of that form that equals it, in the rudest writers. Yet it is impossible not to be struck with the number of strange compounds with the negative *in*, that occur in every page of Tertullian, and writers of that school. Thus we have in him, *imbonitas* (*adv. Martyr.* c. 3); *immisericordia* (*De Spectac.* c. 20); *incriminatio* (*De Resur. Car.* c. 23); *ingratia* (*De Pœnit.* c. 1, 2); *insuavitas* (*ib.* c. 10); which is found also in Gellius (lib. i. c. 21, p. 107); *impræscientia* (*adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 7); *illaudanus* (*ib.* lib. iii. c. 6); *invituperabilis* (lib. ii. c. 10, iv. 1); *incontradicibilis* (lib. iv. 59); *ininventibilis, ininvestigabilis* (*adv. Hermog.* c. 45); *innascibilis* (*De Præscript.* c. 49); *incon-*

temptibilis (*Apol.* c. 45); *illiberis* (*adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 34); *intestis* (*De Pallio*, c. 3, according to Salmasius's reading); found also in Arnobius (lib. v. p. 160); *investis* (*ad Uxor.* lib. ii. c. 9); *incommunis* (*De Pall.* c. 3); *inunitus* (*adv. Valent.* c. 29); read also in Apuleius; *inemeribilis* (*De Resur.* c. 18); Lactantius also has *illibabilis* (lib. ii. c. 2); Arnobius *incontiguus* (lib. i. p. 7); and other peculiar words of that form. A. Gellius, too, peculiarly delights in this form; as may be seen from the catalogue, imperfect as it is, of words peculiar to him, given by Fabricius on Censorinus. (*Biblioth. Lat.* Lips. 1774, tom. iii. p. 77.) Apuleius, too, an African writer, and occasionally agreeing in the use of words with Tertullian, has often this form. Indeed the phrase most nearly approaching that of the Vulgate, "Deus enim intentator malorum est," is one of Apuleius, where he calls God "malorum improbator." (*De Deo Socr.* Lug. Bat. 1823, tom. ii. p. 156.) This word *improbator* is likewise found in Tertullian (*De Patient.* c. 5).

I will now give a few examples of grammatical construction, which seem to indicate an African origin.

The verb *dominor* is almost always construed with a genitive; as, for instance, Ps. x. 5; xxi. 29; Luc. xxii. 25, &c.; and so has passed even into the new Vulgate. This construction is found only, as far as I know, in African writers. Thus Tertullian has, "nunquam *dominaturi ejus*, si Deo non deliquisset." (*Apol.* c. 26.)

Ps. xxxvi. 1, we have *zelare* with an accusative case; so Ecclus. ix. 1, 16; and in other places. St. Jerome has used the form twice, though he generally says, *zelatus sum pro.* This construction, likewise, is confined to African authors. Thus the author of the poem against Marcion, whether it be Tertullian or

St. Cyprian, has (*Carm. adv. Marc.* lib. iv. v. 36, in *Opp. Tertul.* Rigalt. p. 636)—

"Qui *zelat populum* summo pietatis amore."

So likewise St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. iii. c. 3): "Dii credo non *zelant conjuges* suas." And again, *cont. Faust.* lib. xxii. c. 79.

The use of an *active* or *passive* infinitive after *facio* is a harsh form of expression; as, Matt. iv. 19: "Faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum." Acts viii. 45: "Figuras quas fecistis adorare." Among the classics this construction is hardly to be seen, unless *facio* signifies to *imagine*, or *suppose;* as Cicero: "Plato construi a Deo atque ædificari mundum facit." (*De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 8.) Arnobius, however, often uses this rude form; as, "Fecit oppidum claudi." (Lib. v. p. 159.) "Fecit sumere habitum priorem." (*Ib.* p. 174.)

Jo. xix. 10: "Potestatem habeo crucifigere te, et potestatem habeo dimittere te." The poets do, indeed, use the infinitive after *potestas;* as Lucan (*Phars.* lib. ii. 40),—

. . . . "Nunc *flere potestas*
Quùm pendet fortuna ducum."

and Statius (*Theb.* lib. iv. 249),—

"Neque enim hæc juveni foret *ire potestas*."

Yet even these poetical turns cannot be compared with the words quoted from the Vulgate: as in them the verbs are not used actively after the word *potestas*, which is thus, in a manner, equivalent to the impersonal *licet*. Victorinus, however, the African writer already quoted, has the expression, "*potestas dare vivere*." (*Apud Mai, præf. ad Script. Vet.* p. xvii.)

Ps. xliv. 14, we have the expression *ab intus*. This is likewise found in a commentary on St. Luke, pub-

lished by Monsignor Mai (*ib.* p. 192), the latinity of which seems to indicate an African origin.

Enallage of tenses often occurs in the old version. Thus the imperfect subjunctive is put for the pluperfect, as Acts ii. 1:—"Cum complerentur dies Pentecostes," for *completi essent.* Many other examples might be brought. I will quote a note of Heraldus upon the following words of Arnobius: "Nunquam rebus ejusmodi credulitatis suæ commodarent assensum." (Lib. i. p. 33.) His annotator writes thus:—"Afri utuntur sæpissime præterito imperfecto pro plusquam perfecto, ut loquuntur grammatici. Extat hæc ἐναλλαγὴ apud Arnobium et Tertullianum, locis quamplurimis; quin et apud antiquos scriptores, ut apud Plautum non raro. Hinc igitur Augustini celebre dictum illud 'Non crederem Evangelio, nisi me Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.' Id est, *non credidissem*, tum quum eram Manichæus. Sic hoc loco *commodarent* pro *commodassent*." (*Desid. Heraldi Animadvers. ad Arnob.* lib. i. p. 54.)

I will give the judgment of the same learned critic upon another construction not unfrequent in our Vulgate,—a sudden change from an indirect construction to the infinitive. For instance (Luc. i. 72):—"*Ad faciendam misericordiam* cum patribus nostris, et *memorari* testamenti sui sancti." Arnobius has (lib. ii. p. 64), "Illibatum necesse est *permaneat* et intactum, neque ullum sensum mortiferæ passionis *assumere*." On these words his commentator observes:—"Proba lectio. Nam qui scribendum existimant, *assumat*, plane falluntur. His modorum mutationibus delectantur Afri scriptores. Infra; 'causam convenit *ut inspiciatis*, non factum, nec quid reliquerimus *opponere*.'" (*Ib.* p. 83.) I may observe that the change of moods I have cited from the Vulgate was

manifestly the result of the translator's taste, and noways suggested by the original, which preserves through the sentence a consistent construction: ποιῆσαι ἔλεος . . . . καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης.

Perhaps some will not consider the preceding inquiry into the origin of the Vulgate sufficiently extensive to prove definitively that it was composed in Africa. I will, however, observe, that the best writers upon the Latin language agree in considering the African authors as composing a peculiar family, distinct from those of other nations. Thus, for instance, Walchius says:—"Afri propria dicendi ratione Latinum sermonem omnino corruperunt, constat id idem de Tertulliano, Cypriano, Arnobio, aliisque."[e] Now I doubt whether it would be possible to bring as many definite points of resemblance between any two African writers, as I have brought to show the similarity of words and constructions between the Vulgate and Tertullian, or Arnobius. And if it be said that the classification of these writers has been suggested more by the general features of their style, and the rudeness of their diction, than by marked approximations of phraseology, I would reply, that the resemblance of style, for example, between Arnobius and St. Cyprian, is by no means so decisive as to warrant their being so associated; and that even in this view, the Vulgate, taking into account that it is only a translation, may well enter into the same class. To me, this investigation has brought complete conviction that the version was made in Africa; and that Tertullian is the author nearest to it in age and country.

And in the foregoing discussion I have laid before my readers the strongest proof, to which I alluded in

[e] Johannis Georgii Walchii Historia critica Latinæ Linguæ. Ed. nova. Lips. 1729, p. 188.

my first letter,[f] that the version used throughout the Western Church was one in origin, however subsequently modified. For in the quotations of all the Fathers, whether Italian, Gaulish, or Spanish, we find these extraordinary words. If each Church used a different version, still more if every one who thought himself qualified, presumed to translate, is it credible, nay, is it possible, that all, of whatever country, of whatever abilities or education, would have used the same words, and adopted similar forms, and these most unusual, found only in writers of one province, some in no writer except these several versions? Can any one believe, for instance, that the verbs, *glorifico, clarifico, salvifico, magnifico, justifico, mortifico, vivifico*, should have been invented or adopted by a variety of authors translating independently, when we consider that they are to be found in no Italian author before the Vulgate came into general use? Why did no one among the supposed innumerable translators say *justum reddere, vitam dare*, or use any other such phrase? Only one solution, it seems, can be given to these queries; to suppose the version to have been the production of one man, or of several in the same country and age, who gave to it that uniform character and colour, which it has in all the fragments we possess of it.

But in one respect I fear I may have been too diffuse; for I feel that I have once more to lead back my reader to the point whence this digressive inquiry started. I had endeavoured to reduce the question of the authority of the Latin Fathers in favour of 1 John v. 7, to one of recensions. This led me into the investigation of the origin of the Vulgate; which being a point hitherto untouched, and of importance to the

[f] See p. 25.

general interest of biblical criticism, I have carried on at a length more becoming a separate treatise than a digression. The result is, that Africa was the birth-place of the Vulgate, and consequently the African recension represents its oldest type, and is far superior in authority to the Italian. Thus it gives us the assurance, that in the primary translation the verse existed; and that, if the Italian Fathers had it not, it was from its having been lost in their recension. We are thus led to conclude that the manuscripts used in making this version possessed the verse; and these were necessarily manuscripts of far greater antiquity than any we can now inspect.

And now, having had so frequently to refer to Tertullian, I will venture to observe, that justice has not been done to the passage commonly quoted from him, as a reference to our text. (*Adv. Prax.* c. 25.) To see the full force of his expression, we must read farther till we come to the following words: "Nam et Spiritus substantia est Sermonis, et Sermo operatio Spiritus, *et duo unum sunt.*" Tertullian certainly does not here refer to the passage he has already discussed so fully,—"ego et Pater unum sumus;" for it could never prove that the Son and Holy Ghost are one God. Yet he seems to allude to some text of equal force, where *the Word* and *the Spirit* are mentioned as being one; and this text can only be the one which he had already, in the passage commonly quoted, compared with that regarding the Father and the Son. He says, "*duo* unum sunt," because his argument, at that moment, required not the mention of all, and he was only alluding, not quoting. But I must hasten to my conclusion.

I promised only to give an account of some manuscripts found to contain the disputed verse of St. John;

and in this I principally had in view the two Latin manuscripts, which I described in my first letter. I have, however, endeavoured to connect the private evidence of one of my witnesses with the general mass of testimony in favour of the cause; and, I trust, proved that its weight is greater than its individual volume might seem to indicate. I have attempted, by this means, to place the favourable evidence upon a footing, of greater authority among critics, than that of dispersed testimonies, and removed some objections from the silence of St. Augustine, which used triumphantly to be urged against it. I will, however, detain my readers a few moments longer to make some observations upon Greek manuscripts said to contain the verse.

In the *Preface to the second edition of a Letter to Mrs. J. Baillie*, by the bishop of Salisbury, to which I cannot refer more particularly, as it was forwarded to me in a separate form by his lordship, mention is made of the evidence existing of a manuscript having once been seen at Venice, which contained the verse. It consists of the testimony of Harenberg, in the Bibliotheca Bremensis,[g] that a valuable Greek manuscript,—"auctoritatis non modicæ codicem Græcum,"—was shown by a Greek at Venice to F. Antoine. This was singularly confirmed by a marginal reference of one of the *Canonici MSS.* now in the Bodleian. A still more extraordinary coincidence was a third reference, which I discovered here (Rome), to a Greek manuscript at Venice. This I had briefly communicated to his lordship, who gave an extract from my letter, in an Appendix, on Sir Isaac Newton's suppression of his Dissertation on 1 John v. 7, &c. kindly forwarded to me on a separate sheet. I will now,

[g] Biblioth. Brem. Nova. Brem. 1762. Class. ii. p. 428.

however, state more at length the nature of this reference. In the Angelica Library, belonging to the Augustinians of this city, and so called from its founder, F. Angelo Rocca, is preserved the copy of the Bible used by him, as secretary of the Congregation appointed by Clement VII. for the correction of the Vulgate. It is the Roman edition of 1592, the second of Sixtus V. Prefixed to the volume are minutes of the acts of the Congregation; and on the margin are noted such passages as the secretary wished to submit to discussion, with the arguments, briefly stated, upon which he grounded the rejection, retention, or alteration, of each. Upon the text of St. John, p. 1114, is the following marginal annotation, written with numerous contractions:—"Hæc verba sunt certissime de textu et allegantur contra hæreticos ab Athanasio, Gregorio Nazianzeno, Cyrillo, et Cypriano; et Hieronymus in prologo dicit ab infidelibus scriptoribus fuisse prætermissa. *In Græco etiam quodam antiquissimo exemplari quod habetur Venetiis leguntur;* unde colligitur Græca, quæ passim feruntur, in hac parte esse mendosa, et omnia Latina manuscripta in quibus non habentur illa verba signata." This testimony, confirmed as it is by the two already cited, must be allowed considerable weight: the occasion too, on which it is given, renders it still farther worthy of our attention.

I have now to mention the supposed existence of two manuscripts containing the verse, towards which I wish to turn the attention of critics and travellers. I had frequently heard from a gentleman, well known in the literary world as a Greek and oriental scholar, that he had seen manuscripts in the East which contained the verse. He had, in fact, travelled over great

part of Greece expressly with the view of collating manuscripts of the New Testament for a Latin version of it, which he afterwards published.[h] Anxious to collect with greater accuracy the information he had to give upon the subject, I asked him more particularly to state to me what he had seen in reference to it. I took a note of his observations within a few minutes of our conversation; and as more than a year has since elapsed, I will content myself with transcribing it here.

"His statement is, that he has seen several manuscripts with the verse erased, and two in which it is written, *prima manu*, in the margin. One was at Nicosia in Cyprus, in possession of a Greek, of abilities, a merchant as I understood him. It was in uncial letters, large; on the margin, by the same hand, although in smaller characters, was the verse, with an annotation that it belonged to the text. From his manner and character, I could have no reason whatever to doubt that he was perfectly sincere in his statements." I will add no comment upon this testimony; perhaps some traveller may be able to verify it.

There are several other points on which I should have been glad to touch, especially upon the objection frequently brought against the free discussion of this controversy from the decree of the Council of Trent. Some writers have given very false views of this subject, which it would be easy to confute, from the acts of the different congregations appointed to correct the text of the Vulgate. In one of these, the arguments for the rejection of 1 John v. 7, seem to have been seriously taken into consideration. In the Bible used by one of these congregations, now in the library of the

[h] This was Don Leopoldo Sebastiani, since deceased.

Barnabite Fathers, the following note, by the secretary, is written in the margin :—

" *in* grae. cod. vati. et
al. grae codd. necnon et
*in aliqu*ibus latinis non habentur
*verb*a virgula signata."

The letters printed in italics are supplied, having been cut off in binding the volume. But a valuable and interesting account of the corrections of the Vulgate, almost entirely from inedited sources, may be shortly expected from the pen of my learned friend F. Ungarelli. Many errors on this subject will be then corrected. But while, from an unwillingness to prolong a letter already of unwieldy dimensions, I refrain from entering more fully upon this important discussion, I cannot help cautioning my reader against the erroneous conclusions to which the work of a late learned Catholic seems to lead, that the decree of the Council of Trent and the critical evidence stand in direct opposition. He observes that " Here the communicant with the See of Rome takes a higher ground .... those, therefore, in communion with the See of Rome, who now reject the verse, fall within the Council's anathema."[i] The answers to this objection are urged with little strength or feeling of interest, yet the whole of the dissertation is so constructed as to prove, that on critical grounds, the verse has to be rejected! Such an opposition cannot, and here certainly does not, exist. I remain, &c.

N. WISEMAN.

ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME, *March* 27, 1833.

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[i] Horæ Biblicæ. Lond. 1817. Appendix, p. 383.

CATHOLIC VERSIONS

OF

SCRIPTURE.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for April*, 1837.

CATHOLIC VERSIONS

OF

SCRIPTURE.

ART. IX.—*A new Version of the Four Gospels, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* By a Catholic.[a] London, 1836.

THE appearance of any work upon biblical literature is, unfortunately, a phenomenon amongst us. Whether this branch of theological science be cultivated as it deserves by the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, it might be deemed presumption in us to discuss; but of the manifestation, by its fruits, of such a study, we cannot avoid being cognisant. What is done in the seclusion of academical life, in the cloisters of our religious establishments, or in the rural solitude of our clergy, may be much more than falls under the public notice; the appearance of a work like the one that heads this article, shows that considerable abilities are, in secret, employed upon biblical pursuits, and must check the hasty conclusion, that little is done, because little appears. At the same time, the sudden and unannounced publication of a new version of Scripture was not the earliest indication which we should have expected of increased attention to these studies. We are utterly unprovided with even elementary and introductory works upon them, whether

[a] It is now well known that this work is from the pen of Dr. Lingard.

intended for the education of our clergy, or for the instruction of our people; we possess not a commentary suited to the wants of the times, or the advances made in biblical science; and are obliged to seek information either in voluminous, rare, and old writers, or in the productions of men whose religion differs essentially from ours. And even in this last resource, we have but scanty measure of relief. Protestant England is almost as badly provided as ourselves with works of practical usefulness; and it would seem as though water were as bad a conductor of knowledge as it is of electricity; for the narrow strip of it which girds our islands, most effectually precludes all communication of the various and interesting researches which occupy the continent.

But the indication of attention to biblical learning, which we should most confidently have expected to find preceding any new version of Scripture, and we will add, the proof of its existence which is most imperatively called for, is a revision and correction of that version now in use among Catholics, known by the name of the *Douay version*. We do not suppose that the learned author of the new translation for a moment imagined or intended that it should supersede the one now in general circulation. The sanctioned authenticity of the Vulgate, its use in all Catholic churches, the hold which it has upon the memory of clergy and laity, then the confined and partial nature of the new version, which comprises only the Gospels, and the form in which it appears, are sufficient proofs that he never entertained the idea. The correspondence between St. Jerome and St. Augustine, upon the difficulties encountered in introducing the translation of the former, instead of the old one made from the Septuagint, shows how little practicable such substitutions

are. We make these remarks only to conclude, that, whatever necessity existed, before the appearance of this version, for a thorough revision of the text generally used amongst us, the same necessity does still exist. While, therefore, we are ready to commend the zeal and ability which have led to this publication, we cannot but regret that no one properly qualified, and properly authorized, has yet been found, to undertake such corrections and improvements in our received version as would finally settle its text, and save it from the repeated liberties which have been taken with it.

To call it any longer the Douay or Rheimish version is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published; and so far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are in general for the worse. For though Dr. Challoner did well to alter many too decided Latinisms, which the old translators had retained, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion, where it was congenial, at once, to the genius of our language and to the construction of the original, and by the insertion of particles where they were by no means necessary. Any chapter of the New Testament will substantiate this remark. For instance, in Heb. xiii., which we have accidentally opened, the Rheims edition (1582) has, v. 9, "With various and strange doctrines be not led away." This has been altered into, "Be not carried away with various and strange doctrines." The Latin is, "Doctrinis variis et peregrinis nolite abduci." Again, v. 16, "Beneficence and communication do not forget," has been changed into, "And do not forget to do good and to impart." The Vulgate has, "Beneficentiæ autem et communionis nolite oblivisci." Again, we take

examples quite at random, 2 Tim. ii. 16: "Profana autem et vaniloquia devita; multum enim proficiunt ad impietatem." This the old version translated, "But profane and vain speeches avoid; for they do much grow to impiety." In the emended edition (1750) we have, "But shun profane and vain babblings, for they grow much towards ungodliness." This correction is taken verbatim from the Protestant version, with the exception of "grow towards," instead of "increase unto more." But the change was injudicious: for the Latin compound *vaniloquium*, or the Greek κενοφωνία, is exactly expressed by "vain speech;" whereas the word "babbling" corresponds to the entire word, and cannot have the epithet "vain;" for, thus, the phrase would represent the absurd tautology "vanum vaniloquium." In later editions, as that of Dublin, 1810, published with Dr. Troy's approbation, the word "speeches" is restored, but the construction is not.

There is another alteration of more importance, especially when considered in reference to the present times, and the influence it has had upon established forms of Catholic speech. In the first edition, in conformity to Catholic usage in England, the word "Dominus" is almost always translated by "*Our* Lord." The emended text changed the pronoun into an article, and says, "*The* Lord." In the *Ave Maria*, Catholics have always, till lately, been accustomed to say, "*Our* Lord is with thee;" as it is in that version, and as it was always used in England, even before that translation was made. But, in conformity with the change of the text, we have observed of late a tendency to introduce into the prayer a similar variation, and to say, "*The* Lord is with thee:" a change which we strongly deprecate, as stiff, *cantish*, destructive of the

unction which the prayer breathes, and of that union which the pronoun inspires between the reciter and Her who is addressed. We have no hesitation in saying, that this difference, trifling as many will consider it, expresses strongly the different spirits of our, and other, religions. It never has been the custom of the Catholic Church to say, "*The* Redeemer, *the* Saviour, *the* Lord, *the* Virgin;" "Redemptor *noster*, Dominus *noster*," and so "*our* Saviour, *our* Lord, *our* Lady," are the terms sanctioned; and, therefore, consecrated by Catholic usage since the time of the Fathers. We own it grates our ears, and jars upon our feelings, to hear the former essentially un-Catholic forms used by preachers and writers; they want affection; they are insipid, formal; they remind us of Geneva caps, and smack of predestination. The Rheims translators have explained their reason for their translation in a note, p. 585, as follows: "We Catholics must not say *The Lord*, but *Our Lord*; as we say *Our Lady* for his mother, not *The Lady*. Let us keep our forefathers' words, and we shall easily keep our old and true faith, which we had of the first Christians." Nor is such a modification of the word "Dominus," peculiar to the English Catholics; the Syriac version, and after it the Syriac Church, calls Christ, not simply ܡܪܝܐ *morio* "*The* Lord," but ܡܪܢ *moran*, "*our* Lord," even where the Greek has ὁ Κύριος. If, therefore, it be considered too great a departure from accuracy in translation to restore the pronoun in the text of our version, let us at least preserve it in our instructions, and still more in our formularies of prayer.

But it had been well if Dr. Challoner's alterations had given stability to the text, and formed a standard to which subsequent editors had conformed. But, far from this being the case, new and often important

modifications have been made in every edition which has followed, till, at length, many may appear rather new versions, than revisions of the old. We believe Catholic Britain to be the only country where such a laxity of attention has existed in regard to the purity of its authorized version.[b] And we should have even less reason to complain, had these systematic variations been the only vicissitudes to which it has been subject. The mass of typographical errors to be found in some editions is quite frightful, from many of them falling upon important words, and not so much disfiguring them, which would lead to suspicion and thereby to detection, as transforming them into others that give a correct grammatical, but unsound theological, sense. In 1632, the king's printers, Barker and Lucas, were fined £3,000, for the omission of one monosyllable; and the Oxford Bible of 1792 is considered a curiosity because it reads (Luke xxii. 34) *Philip* instead of *Peter*. But, in the edition which we have referred to,—of Dublin, 1810,—revised under Dr. Troy's direction by the Rev. B. MacMahon, many worse substitutions are to be found. A table at the end gives a number of them, as Matt. xvi. 23, "thou *favourest* not," for "thou *savourest* not;" and Romans vii. 18, "to accomplish that which is good I find *out*," instead of "I find *not*." The table of errata is, however, very far from complete; for instance, the following among others are omitted in it. Gal. iv. 9, "How turn you again to the *work*" (for *weak*) "and poor elements." Ib. v. 23, "modesty, continency, *charity*," instead of "*chastity*." In a note, p. 309, we read, "Sin—which was asleep before, was *weakened* by the prohibition," instead of "*awakened*."

[b] We have not forgotten the Rev. Mr. Curtis's late Letter to the bishop of London.

Our principal object, however, at present, is to turn the attention of the Catholic clergy, and particularly the bishops of Ireland, and the vicars-apostolic of England and Scotland, to the want of a complete revision of the version itself, for the purpose of settling a standard text, from which editors in future may not be allowed to depart. In this manner, alone, will the Catholics of the empire be provided with what every other portion of the Church has long since possessed. It is far from our purpose to undertake a complete exposure of the many passages which want emendation—such a task would require a treatise. In order to confine ourselves within reasonable limits, we will only consider the necessity which a new revision would impose on those who should undertake it, of a minute and often complicated study of the original texts. We have selected this view of the matter, because we think it the point most neglected in the past, and most likely to be overlooked, and to form the great stumbling-block, in any future revision. For, at first sight, it must appear an almost superfluous task to proceed, in such an undertaking, beyond the accurate study of the work immediatly translated. The Vulgate is written in Latin, and it would therefore appear sufficient to possess an accurate knowledge of the Latin language, in order to translate any work written in it into our own. It is our wish to prove the fallacy of such reasoning; and, on the contrary, to show what varied, and often delicate, questions of philology the translation may involve; and how impossible it is to correct or discover the mistakes of our Douay version, without a constant recourse to the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The object of such reference will be, to decide the true meaning of expressions, obscure or doubtful in the Latin. In the few examples which we intend

to give, we shall consider the Alexandrine, or as it is commonly called, the Septuagint, version, as the original of the Psalms; because it is well known that the Latin used by us, and inserted in the Vulgate, is made upon that version, and not on the Hebrew original.

I. Let us select, in the first instance, a very simple example. In the fiftieth Psalm, v. 14 (Heb. li. 14), the Vulgate has, "et spiritu *principali* confirma me." The Douay translators understood the adjective in the sense of *principal*, *excellent*, and accordingly translated the sentence thus, "and strengthen me with a *perfect* spirit." Looking simply at the Latin, the word will certainly bear that sense; as Cicero says, "Causarum aliæ sunt *perfectæ* et *principales*." But the question here is, did the author of the Vulgate use the word in this sense, and not rather in its other meaning, of princely? A reference to the Greek, from which the translation of this book was made, decides the question. For there we read, πνεύματι ἡγημονίκῳ στήριξόν με,—"strengthen me with a *princely* spirit." In the Hebrew, the word used is נדיבה which bears the same meaning, though it also derivately signifies "generous," "noble."[c]

II. Wisdom viii. 21, we have the following sentence: "And as I knew that I could not otherwise be *continent*, except God gave it." This is a verbal translation of the Latin, "Et ut scivi quoniam aliter non possem esse *continens* nisi Deus det." The word *continens* corresponds to the Greek ἐγκρατὴς, here as in every other passage wherein it occurs through the sapiential books, and is never, save in this passage, rendered in our version by *continent*. This point is

[c] Perhaps the old word "lordly" would best express the double meaning, as its corresponding term *herrlich* would in German.

easily established. Eccles. vi. 28, we have the same subject, the acquisition of wisdom, treated as in our text, in these words: "Investiga illam, et manifestabitur tibi, et *continens factus*, ne derelinquas eam." Our translators did not render these words, by "being made *continent*," but by "when thou *hast gotten* her." The Greek has και εγκρατης γενομενος (v. 27, ed. Bos). These words occur in two other places, where, however, there is no ellipsis, but the object is expressed:—xv. 1, "Qui *continens* est justitiæ apprehendet illam;" translated, "he that *possesseth* justice shall lay hold on her." And xxvii. 33, "Ira et furor utraque execrabilia sunt, et vir peccator *continens* illorum erit;" rendered, "and the sinful man shall *be subject* to them;" that is, shall *contain* or *possess* them. This last example proves, that *continens*, or εγκρατης, does not signify "qui *se* continet,"—one who *restrains* himself, but one who contains or holds something else; and the first instance quoted proves that it is so used elliptically, with omission of the object so held or contained.

These are the only other passages, if we mistake not, in which the Latin word occurs as an equivalent to the cited Greek one throughout these books. We may next ask, Ought a deviation to have been made from the meaning they elsewhere invariably bear, in Sap. viii. 21? And we answer, unhesitatingly, not. The entire passage is concerning the acquisition of wisdom. From verse 9 to verse 19, the writer gives us an account of his searches after it. In vv. 19, 20, he states the causes that led him to them; first, his having been gifted with an ingenuous disposition; and secondly, his having preserved himself from sin. The verse under consideration naturally follows: "And as I knew that I could not otherwise *possess it* (wisdom),

unless God gave it (for this was also a point of wisdom, to know whose gift it was), I went to the Lord," &c. But if we read with our present version, "as I knew I could not *be continent*," &c., we have to meet multiplied difficulties. First, that not a word has been said about continence, but the whole antecedent matter has been concerning wisdom; secondly, that the parenthesis makes no sense, for the thing there mentioned as a gift cannot be continence, as *it* must refer to a substantive, and not an adjective, such as *continent;* and, moreover, its antithesis is lost,—"it was a point of wisdom to know whose gift *wisdom* is;" thirdly, that the prayer which follows, for the quality in question, is entirely for wisdom, and not for continence, which is never asked for. These reasons are more than sufficient for retaining, in this passage, the sense invariably attributed to *continens* in every other.

III. Ps. lxvii. 12, presents an instance in which an ambiguity of phrase compels us to recur, not only to the Greek, but, beyond this, to the original Hebrew. The Latin text runs thus: "Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus, *virtute multa;*" and is thus translated in the Douay version: "The Lord shall give the word to them that preach good tidings, *in great power.*" The word *virtus* is manifestly ambiguous, as it often signifies a *host*, or *multitude.* Hence the common phrase, "Dominus virtutum," is always rendered "the Lord of Hosts;" and "virtutes cœlorum," "the host of heaven." It became, therefore, the translator's duty to recur to the Greek; where he would find the words, δυναμει πολλῃ. But here the same ambiguity exists. For the word δυναμις often indeed corresponds to terms significative in Hebrew of strength, as כח,[d]

[d] 1 Chron. xxix. 2; Es. ii. 69; Jer. xlviii. 45.

נבורה,[e] און,[f] and the derivations of עז;[g] but it almost as frequently corresponds to words of multitude, as עם a people,[h] המון a multitude,[i] מחנה a camp,[k] חיל an army,[l] and, above all, to צבא, the most usual word for a collection of men, or a host. As the equivalent of this word δυναμις occurs some hundreds of times in the Bible, and one of the occasions is the very passage under discussion; for the Hebrew text, lxviii. 12, reads צבא רב. Thus, no doubt remains that the ambiguous Greek word δυναμις here stands for "multitude" or "crowds;" and this again determines the signification of the no less ambiguous Latin term "virtus."

All this investigation was absolutely necessary for the translator, before he could make sure of rightly rendering so simple a word; and the use of the adjective *multa* might have led him to suspect that number, and not strength, was contemplated. This verse would afford us room for several other curious philological remarks in illustration of our subject; but for brevity's sake we pass them over. We need hardly observe, that it alludes to the custom frequently mentioned in Scripture,[m] and practised by other eastern nations besides the Jews,[n] of female choirs coming forth to celebrate the conquerors on their return from battle. The word corresponding in the original to "evangelizan-

[e] Jud. viii. 21; 2 Reg. xviii. 10, &c. [f] Job xl. 11.
[g] Job xli. 14; Ps. xx. 1; xlv. 1. [h] 1 Chron. xxi. 2.
[i] 2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Reg. xx. 28; Jer. iii. 23.
[k] 1 Chron. xii. 22.
[l] This Hebrew word is ambiguous as the Greek and Latin ones in the text; but constantly means an army, as Exod. xiv. 28.
[m] See Exod. xv. 20; Jud. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7; 2 Sam. i. 20.
[n] See, for instance, the account of the mountaineers of Tiproa, by J. Rawlins, Esq., in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. Lond. 1799, p. 191.

tibus" is in the Hebrew in the plural feminine, and this could hardly bear the present translation, "them that *preach* good tidings." The word *proclaim* would have suited better.

IV. We now call the attention of our biblical readers to a very curious rendering in the Vulgate, which seems to us to have been misunderstood by our translators, in consequence of not having attended to the original. This is Sophon. iii. 18, where the Hebrew has as follows: נוגי ממועד אספתי ממך היו. The Vulgate translates thus: "*Nugas* qui a lege recesserunt, congregabo, quia ex te erant;" and is rendered thus by the Douay editors: "the *trifles* that were departed from the law I will gather together, because they were of thee." It must be noticed, that the Latin word *nugæ* purposely corresponds to the Hebrew word נוגי, *nughe*. This is a passive participle of the verb יגה, and means "afflicted;"[o] though some lexicographers prefer the meaning of "removed," which occurs in the root, and is given by the Greek version, and some Jewish commentators.[p] Now the rendering of St. Jerome strikes out a totally different signification, whether we translate it by *trifles* or *triflers*. But there is an old meaning of the word *nugæ*, which would exactly agree with the first of those we have mentioned. In Plautus, it means a "*lamentation*," the *nænia* or mourning song of the *præfica;* and this is allowed to be probably the oldest meaning of the word. Hence, by a synecdoche, it might be used for a "mourner," as it is used for a "trifler." The question, therefore, which a translator of the Vulgate would have to ask himself would be, Can St. Jerome in this passage have used the word *nugas* in that older

[o] See Winer's Lexicon Manuale, p. 396.

[p] Rosenmüller's Prophetæ Minores. Lips. 1816, vol. iv. p. 68.

sense? And we should certainly be inclined to answer it affirmatively, on the following grounds.

1. St. Jerome, in his commentary, seems indifferent which interpretation we take,—his own, or Aquila's. "*Nugas*, sive ut Aquila interpretatus est, *translatos* qui a te recesserunt congregabo."[q] If he had used the word in the ordinary sense, the two versions could not for an instant have been compared. But the *sorrowful* and the *banished* are words whose meanings may be easily exchanged, as they are intimately connected by cause and effect.

2. Any one that has studied the version and commentaries of this Father must have seen their constant accordance with the traditions and opinions of the Jews; and were it necessary for us to illustrate this point by examples, we could do it by many passages in his notes upon the very book of minor prophets now under consideration. But, in fact, he tells us himself that in difficult passages he made it a point to follow his Jewish masters.[r] Now the Jewish interpreters and commentators give two meanings to the word. The Targum, or Chaldaic paraphrase, and R. Solomon Jarchi, render it in the same manner as Aquila, approved by St. Jerome,—"the removed;" Kimchi, and most others, give the other meaning, "the sorrowful;" and the Gemara, an old comment upon the Babylonish Talmud, shows them both to have been maintained by the ancient Jewish teachers, inasmuch as it attributes the one to R. Joshua, and the other to R. Eleazar.[s] Supposing "nugæ" to have

[q] Comment. *in loc.*

[r] "Hæc dico ut noveris quos in Prophetæ hujus campo habuerim præcursores, quos tamen . . . non in omnibus sum secutus, ut judex potius operis eorum quam interpres existerem, diceremque quid mihi videretur in singulis, *et quid ab Hebræorum magistris acceperim.*"

[s] Cod. Berucha, cap. iv. fol. 28.

been used by St. Jerome in its less ordinary sense, we find him approving of exactly the two interpretations which his avowed teachers would have delivered to him, and hesitating which to choose. But if the word mean "trifles" or "triflers," it is impossible to account for the source whence he derived his interpretation, not deducible from the Hebrew root, unknown to every other biblical writer, and not taught him by those on whose authority in such points he relied.

3. St. Jerome, in his commentary, makes an apology, and gives a reason for having used this word: "Id quod diximus *nugas* sciamus in Hebræo ipsum Latinum esse sermonem, ut propterea a nobis ita ut in Hebræo erat positum, ut nosse possimus linguam Hebræam omnium linguarum esse matricem." This reasoning supposes that he had gone out of his way to select this word, which certainly would not have been the case, had he used it in its ordinary acceptation. On the other hand, we cannot suspect him of having sacrificed the sense to a mere resemblance between the Hebrew and Latin words. We must, therefore, conclude, that the word *nugæ* is here used in a rarer sense, but one which suits the meaning of the original; and the result of these reflections seems to be, that this word in the passage is to be rendered by *sorrowful* or *mourners*, a signification at once allied to the version of Aquila, given by the Rabbins, and accounting for St. Jerome's excuses.

V. It is singular that St. Jerome should translate, on every occasion except two, the Hebrew word פשע and its derivatives, by *calumniari* or its substantives. Yet this Hebrew verb is admitted by all to signify *oppression* or *violence*, sometimes, perhaps, with an addition of *fraud*. The translator of the Vulgate must, there-

fore, inquire, whether St. Jerome really meant the word *calumniari* to be taken in the sense in which it is usually taken, or whether it bears in his version the peculiar signification of *violence*. If the former were the case, he *must* translate it by *calumny*, however this may differ from the original, since the translator's duty is only to present a faithful transcript of the Latin version. But if St. Jerome used it in the second sense, then the word *calumny* cannot be used, because it never bears with us the signification of *violence*. It is impossible to conceive that this learned Father could have used these terms in their ordinary acceptation, for they are often placed where the context will not admit of any signification but that of *violence* or *oppression*. Thus they are used in apposition with terms of unjust oppression,[t] they are spoken of whole nations, which certainly could not well be said to be an object of calumny or false accusation.[u] The translator would, therefore, decide that the word *calumnia* and its derivatives in the Vulgate signify oppression. Yet this is not universally the case, but only when it corresponds to the Hebrew עשׁק or its nouns. For example, Genes. xliii. 18, we have the words, "ut devolvat in nos *calumniam;*" yet as the Hebrew verb there is not עשׁק but להתגלל, we must translate the word by a *false accusation*. It is only, therefore, by having the original open before us, that we could ascertain when the word was to be translated *violence* or *oppression*, or when *calumny* or *false accusation*. The Douay

[t] Deut. xxviii. 29, 33; Eccles. v. 7; Jer. vii. 6; Ezech. xxii. 29; Amos iv. 1. Two remarkable examples are Jer. xxii. 3: "Liberate *vi oppressum* de manu *calumniatoris;*" and xxi. 12, where nearly the same words occur.

[u] Jer. i. 33; Osee v. 11. But see particularly 1 Kings (or Sam.) xii. 4, where the people say to Samuel, upon his retiring from government, "Non *es calumniatus* nos."

translators have indeed generally been right in their rendering of this word, because the context is generally such as to force us to a correct interpretation; but where this did not lead them, they have failed, and so have left the work unfinished. Thus, Gen. xxvi. 20; Levit. xix. 30; Prov. xxviii. 16; Ezech. xxii. 29; and Job x. 3, our version presents the word *calumny*.[x] The last of these passages is remarkable, for Job is there said to upbraid God with *calumniating* him, when it is evident, from the circumstances of his history, as well as from the context, and the general tenor of his complaints, that harsh and oppressive treatment was what he objected to the conduct of the Almighty in his regard. Yet in all these passages the same word עשׁק occurs in the original; and as we have seen already that St. Jerome understood this word of oppression, though he rendered it by *calumniari*, it is clear that in all these passages he meant this to have that meaning; and so it should have been rendered by our translators.

Only one thing would be wanting to make this reasoning satisfactory, and that is, to prove that the Latin word *calumnia* really has this meaning of oppression, or perhaps more properly of *vexation*. The Lexicons do not, it is true, present a signification sufficiently strong; the one, for instance, which approaches nearest in Forcellini,[y] is No. 6, "Sumitur etiam latius pro quacunque vitiosa calliditate, astutia, vexatione." Craft, however, and not oppression, is here the essential ingredient, and all the examples brought show that he understands it only of vexatious, petty, proceedings in law. From this it would appear, that our translators were led only by the force of the context to

[x] Isa. liv. 14, the first edition of our version, Douay, 1609-10, has *calumny*; the modern correction, *oppression*.

[y] Sub voce *calumnia*, tom. i. p. 450. col. i. Patav. 1827.

select the extraordinary, but correct, interpretation which they have generally given. But it seems to us, that this word easily passed from its forensic use to a wider signification of oppression in acts; especially when under *the sanction of law*, which we apprehend to be the most ordinary use of עשׁק. Hence this might be accurately rendered by *calumniari* in Latin. We think the following authority may justify this assertion. Under Domitian, and other cruel emperors, a heavy tax was imposed upon all Jews, and was exacted with peculiar rigour, and even cruelty. Suetonius thus writes of the Emperor we have named: "Præter cæteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime exactus est."[z] Under Nerva, the odious imposition was abolished, and a medal remains to commemorate the event. It bears this legend:—

FISCI. IVDAICI. CALVMNIA. SVBLATA.[a]

Here the word *calumnia* evidently signifies "tyranny," or "oppression," and will fully justify the use of the word in this sense in the Vulgate, and consequently the translation which we suggest.

We cannot take leave of this word without recalling to our reader's notice another remarkable text where it occurs. We allude to Luke iii. 14. The Baptist is there giving instructions to soldiers, on campaign,[b] what they are to do. He suggests three points to their observance: the *first* is, to do violence to no man; the *third*, to be content with their pay. These two points are not only in accordance with the profession

[z] Domit. c. xii. tom. ii. p. 328, edit. Burm.

[a] Eckhel, Doctrina Num. Vet. tom. vi. p. 404. From the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna.

[b] This circumstance is of importance for the rendering of the text. The word is στρατευομενοι. See Michaelis, Marsh's transl. tom. i. p. 51.

and habits of the persons instructed, but are also in perfect harmony the one with the other. The soldiers are not to enrich themselves by rapine, but to be satisfied with what they receive. We should expect the intermediate portion of advice to be of like character; it is, μηδὲ συκοφαντήσητε. This the Vulgate renders by *neque calumniam faciatis.* The Douay version again translates, "neither calumniate any man."[c] This is totally out of keeping with the context. The fact is, that the verb συκοφαντέω in the Greek of the Septuagint means to *oppress*, and is frequently put for the Hebrew עשׁק.[d] It had thus acquired that force in Jewish Greek, like so many other words,[e] and should be so rendered. This has been already noticed by writers on the Greek of the New Testament.[f]

VI. We shall, perhaps, require still more indulgence from our readers for our observations on another passage from the Old Testament. Ps. xxxix. 9 (in the Septuagint), the Greek version has σωμα δε κατηρτισω μοι, "thou hast fitted a body to me." The Latin version of the Psalms, as we have before observed, is made from this Greek translation, and yet in this passage it has "aures autem perfecisti mihi," which the Douay version no less singularly renders, "thou hast *pierced* ears for me." For the verb "perficio" certainly never bore this signification in any ancient writer. At first sight, it would appear as though the Vulgate, par-

[c] The English authorized version has nearly the same,—"Neither accuse any man falsely."

[d] Job xxxv. 9; Psalm lxviii. 121; Proverbs xiv. 33; xxii. 16; xxviii. 3; Eccles. iv. 1.

[e] It is an admitted principle in Hermeneutics, that the Greek of the Seventy is one of the great keys to the right interpretation of the Greek of the New Testament. See Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica Generalis. Vienna, 1813, p. 103.

[f] Vid. Schleusner sub voce συκοφαντέω, and Kuinoel *in loc.*

ticularly if we admit the correctness of the English rendering, had in this verse been taken from the Hebrew, which has אזנים כרית לי "aures perforasti mihi." Before, therefore, censuring the Douay rendering, and consequently showing the necessity of recourse to the original texts, we must prove that the Vulgate in this verse is not made upon the Hebrew, which it seems to resemble, but on the Septuagint, to which it bears so little affinity.

A slight comparison of the entire Psalm, in the Vulgate, with the two texts, will satisfy the most superficial scholar, that every other verse is translated from the Greek; and this affords us a strong presumption that this passage was derived from the same source. The principal difficulty resides in the substitution of *aures*, "ears," for σωμα, "body." But this change is easily accounted for in two ways. First, several copies of the Septuagint read ωτια, "ears," instead of σωμα. In Parsons's continuation of Holmes's critical edition of that version, we have the following note upon the passage, "Σωμα δε] ωτια δε (Cod.) 39, ωτα δε, 142, 156 (292 marg.)."[g] The same reading is given by Bos from a Greek commentary. The Vulgate, therefore, may have been made upon a manuscript which read thus; and in this supposition no objection exists to its having rendered this verse from the Greek. Secondly, it seems probable that originally the Latin read "corpus," and not "aures;" and then there would be no discrepancy between it and the pre-

[g] The MSS. here quoted are thus described in the Prolegomena to the work:—"39. Codex Dorothei, ii. Membr. soc. ix.—142. Bib. Aulier Vindob. Theol. x.; membr. pervet. optimæ notæ.—156. Bib. Basil. membr. 4 adm. antiq. sine accent. cum vers. lat. interlin.—292. Cod. Bib. Medic. num. iii. Plut. vi. opt. notæ membran. in fol. sæc. xi."

sent Greek text. The Mosarabic and Roman Psalters have it, as well as St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, St. Ambrose, and St. Hilary.[h] The Veronese Psalter, published by Bianchini, presents the same reading.[i] The use of the verb "perfecisti" leaves little room to doubt that this was the original reading. The substantive and the verb agree perfectly; when, at a later period, the former was changed, the latter was allowed to remain, and did not suit so well.

The moment this difficulty is removed, and no doubt consequently remains that the verse is translated from the Septuagint, it is plain that "perfecisti" corresponds to κατηρτισω. Now, this verb means sometimes in Scripture, "to complete, to perfect;" as for example, 1 Thess. iii. 10, where the Vulgate translates it "ut compleam;" and, therefore, no doubt, "perficio" is here used in this sense. The old Douay version has correctly "eares thou hast perfited to me," which was subsequently altered into its present reading. If this change was made in deference to the original Hebrew, a principle of translation was violated; for the Greek should have been consulted, and the Vulgate should not have been here abandoned for the Hebrew, any more than in a thousand other places where they differ.

VII. We will now notice a case, which shows how the incautious insertion of the smallest monosyllable may totally alter the sense. It is the well-known

[h] Ap. Sabatier, Bibliorum Sacrorum Versiones Antiquæ, 1743.

[i] Psalter. duplex cum Canticis, p. 63. Published in his Vindiciæ Canonicarum Scripturarum Vulgatæ Latinæ editionis. Rome, 1740. In a note on this passage, he adds, "Favet utrique lectioni versio Arabica." This is a mistake, which, however, does not surprise us, as most that has been written on the Arabic version of the Psalms is very inaccurate. This, however, is not the place to prove this point, and substitute more exact observations.

passage, Jo. ii. 4, "Quid mihi et tibi mulier?" The old Rhemish editors of 1582 scrupulously rendered word for word, not without a sacrifice of clearness and propriety, "*What is to me* and to thee woman?" In a note they explain their motives, grounded on the ambiguous character of the phrase, which they did not think it proper more definitely to express. In the correction by Dr. Challoner, this ambiguity was preserved; and, indeed, it yet remains in many modern editions. Some, however, as that of Edinburgh, 1792, have slipped in "*it*," and read, "What is *it* to me and to thee?" But there can be no doubt that this translation is erroneous, and that for many reasons.

First, this form of expression, which occurs in our text, is very common in the Old Testament, and always means that there is no connexion between the persons thus mentioned. It may be sufficient to consult the passages below in the margin.[k]

Secondly, it occurs very frequently in the classics, Greek and Latin, and bears invariably the same meaning. Thus Anacreon:—

Τί γὰρ μάχαισι κἀμοι.
* * *
Τί Πλειάδεσσι κἀμοι.[l]

Aulus Gellius quotes from Epictetus (lib. ii.) τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ἄνθρωπε; ἀρκεῖ ἐμοὶ τὰ ἐμὰ κακά.[m] Quintus Curtius has, in like manner, "Quid nobis tecum est;"[n] and Ovid,—

"Quid mihi cum Siculis, inter Scythiamque Getasque?"[o]

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[k] Jos. xxii. 24; Jud. xi. 12; 2 Sam. xvi. 10; 1 Reg. xvii. 18; 2 Reg. iii. 13; Mic. ii. 2. Cf. Glassius, Philologia Sacra. Leips. 1776, tom. i. p. 491.

[l] Ode xvii. 264, 276.

[m] Noctes Atticæ, ed. Gronov. lib. i. c. ii. p. 37.

[n] Lib. viii. c. viii. § 16.

[o] Trist. lib. iii. eleg. xi. 54.

Martial writes thus: "Martialis Deciano suo S. Quid nobis inquis cum epistola? parumne tibi præstamus si legimus epigrammata?"[p] We could add examples from Oriental writers. But what is most to be noted is, that the classics often fill up the ellipsis, by adding an adjective or substantive. Thus Philostratus, Σοὶ δὲ τί καὶ Προτεσίλεῳ κοινόν;[q] Propertius uses the word "gratia."

"Cum Tiberi Nilo gratia nulla fuit."[r]

And Claudian, "ratio."

"Quæ tibi cum pedibus ratio? quid carmina culpas?
Scandere qui nescis, versiculos laceras."[s]

The Persians, as for instance Firdausi, use the substantive كار *Kar*, "negotium."

Thirdly, in the New Testament, the phrase occurs several times besides this place, and manifestly has the same meaning. We will at present only notice the message to Pilate from his wife, Matt. xxvii. 19: "Have thou nothing to do with that just man;" in the Vulgate, "Nihil tibi et justo huic." What confirms this interpretation is, that whenever a thing is said not to concern a person, the preposition is used with the accusative. Thus, when Judas restores the price of his treason, saying that he had betrayed innocent blood, he is answered, τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς; σὺ ὄψει —"Quid *ad nos?* tu videris." (Ib. 4.) And when Peter eagerly inquires about John, our Saviour says to him, Τί πρός σε;—"Quid *ad te?*"[t] "What is *it* to

[p] Introd. to lib. ii. Epig.

[q] Philost. Her. p. 8, ed. Boiss. In like manner, Schiller, Jungfrau von Orleans, act v. scene v. has—

"Nicht kann *gemein* seyn
Zwischen dir und mir."

[r] Lib. ii. eleg. xxxiii. 20.

[s] Epigr. xxviii. In Podagr.

[t] John xx. 22.

thee?" Precisely as in the classics; for instance, Martial,—

"Sobrius siccus est Aper: quid *ad me?*"[u]

These considerations are sufficient to prove, that the accurate rendering of these words is the same as is given in Matt. xxvii. 19, "What have I to do with thee?" And we prefer this to the one given in the new version which heads our article; "What hast thou to do with me?" Because this seems to make the answer signify, "Why dost thou interfere with me?" a signification which the phrase does not generally bear; for it simply expresses the absence or denial of communication between the parties.

The insertion, therefore, of the pronoun "it" destroys this sense completely, and determines the text in favour of a signification manifestly inaccurate.[x]

The philological discussion of this text ought naturally to end here. But an objection to the interpretation we have preferred will certainly start up in the mind of the pious reader. Is not the expression unaccountably harsh? Can we suppose our Blessed Saviour to have addressed his holy and dear mother in terms that disowned her, and denied all connection between them? Nay, we should feel but little satisfaction ourselves in this discussion, did we feel, at its close, that we had by it derogated aught from her honour, whom, from infancy, we have been taught especially to reverence; or that we had successfully striven to establish an interpretation which apparently favoured the cavils of our religious adversaries. For we are aware how

[u] *Lib.* xii. epig. 30.

[x] However, Prof. Scholz, in his version of the Gospels (Francf. 1829), has retained this meaning: "Weib, was kümmert das mich und dich?" That of Augusti and De Wette (Heidelb. 1814) has: "Weib, was habe ich mit dir zu beschaffen?"

this translation has been considered by some as discountenancing our Catholic feelings towards God's mother, by proving that her own Son treated her with little respect. Such, for instance, is the view presented by a certain Mr. Ford Vance, a chosen preacher against our doctrines, who having quoted the Protestant version, thus observes:—"The Roman Catholics say that this is a wrong translation of the passage, and that it should be rendered, 'Woman, what is that to you and to me?'" And in reply he appeals to Matt. viii. 29.[y] Our preceding remarks will be sufficient to show that we have no wish whatever to assert any such thing. But we deny all the consequences which he and others would draw from their version, and assert that the most timid Catholic need fear nothing in adopting it.

It is easy to prove, that the expression in question might be, and often was, used in the most respectful and even affectionate manner; and as some of our examples, at least, have not been before quoted, we will enter more fully into the matter. We have a stronger motive for so doing, that even writers not engaged on controversy have expressed themselves differently from what we deem the truth. Thus Lambert Bos describes the phrase in general, as one "qua molestia et contemptus innuitur."[z]

In the New Testament it certainly is used respectfully by Pilate's wife, when she calls Jesus "that just man." Nor, we think, can it be doubted, that the expostulation of the evil spirits, to which Mr. Vance refers, has the same character. For they give him his most glorious title, saying, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, son of God?" and then they make a sup-

[y] Sermons on the Invocation of Angels and Saints. Serm. ii. p. 40.

[z] Ellipses Græcæ, ed. Schäffer, 1808, p. 227.

plicating request to be allowed to enter into the swine; which is granted them. In the Old Testament, the phrase is used in the same manner. For instance, there surely was neither "annoyance nor contempt" intended in those words whereby the widow obtained from the prophet the resurrection of her son:—"What have I to do with thee, thou man of God? Art thou come to call my sins to remembrance, and to slay my son?"[a] There is an expression, similar in signification, which is manifestly used with similar feelings. We allude to Luke v. 8, where Peter, falling on his knees before Jesus, says to him, "*Depart from me*, for I am a sinful man, O Lord!" It is exceeding respect which, in these two cases, suggests expressions, at first sight indicative of a wish to have no communication with the person addressed.

Among profane writers the same use of the phrase may be easily proved. When the banished poet addresses his writings in these words,—

> "Quid mihi vobiscum est, infelix cura, libelli,
> Ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo?"[b]

there is certainly expressed a feeling of affection and attachment to his unfortunate productions. The most respectful use of the expression is made in the East. In the account of a "good monitor," published by Kosegarten, we are told, how, upon a message being brought him that the caliph wished to see him, he replied, ما لي ولأمير المؤمنين "What have I to do with the prince of the faithful?"[c] This was certainly not said with any intention of slighting that personage, whose call he obeyed; for his conduct is described with a desire to commend, and to propose it as an example.

[a] 1 Reg. xvii. 18. [b] Trist. lib. ii. eleg. i. 1.
[c] Chrestom. Arab. Lips. 1828, p. 36.

But we will quote another instance, which, we flatter ourselves, will leave no room to doubt that this expression could be used in the most affectionate manner. The emperor Marcus Aurelius closes one of his letters to his beloved preceptor, Fronto, in these words:—"Valebis mihi Fronto, ubi nihi es, mellitissime, meus amor, mea voluptas. *Quid mihi locum est?* amo absentem."[d]

These examples are more than sufficient to prove that our Saviour could use the phrase as we have interpreted it, without incurring the imputation of undutifulness, which some writers, in their zeal against Catholics, seem almost eager to cast upon him. It may have been spoken in the most respectful and affectionate manner; and, as commentators have remarked, our Blessed Lady did not view it in the light of a refusal or a check; for after it, she felt sure that her prayer was granted, and gave directions for the working of the miracle.

VIII. The length to which we have been carried by several of our examples, obliges us to suppress many others on which we would willingly have dilated. We must, however, for the present omit them, and will briefly advert to one only. This is Heb. xi. 1, where the Latin word, "substantia," is rendered "substance." "Faith is the *substance* of things to be hoped for." This rendering leads the reader to a wrong conclusion; as faith may be the indication, or demonstration, but certainly not the substance, of what we hope for. The Rheims translators say, that the Latin word here bore the meaning of its corresponding Greek, ὑποστασις, "groundwork," or "foundation;" and though, with their usual caution, they retained the very word "substance," they added a

[d] M. C. Frontonis et M. Aurelii Epist. Romæ, 1823, p. 105.

marginal note to this effect: "By this word substance is meant, that faith is the ground of our hope." The note has disappeared, but the word which they knew to be unintelligible without it, has been retained. The Anglican version has the same word, but likewise adds an explanatory marginal note. A reference to the original Greek could alone guide the translator of the Vulgate; because the Latin word could never have been supposed to have this meaning, except as equivalent to that Greek term.

It may be necessary even sometimes to consult St. Jerome's commentary, to ascertain the exact sense in which he used words or phrases. For example:— "Butyrum et mel comedet, *ut* sciat reprobare malum et eligere bonum."[e] From his commentary on this passage, it is evident that he used the particle *ut* in the sense of *quamvis*, as Ovid does,

"Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas."[f]

The sense would be, that the Messiah should eat the common food of infants, although he, in truth, possessed discretion and knowledge.

These examples are, we trust, sufficient to elucidate our views regarding a complete and authorized revisal of our English Catholic version. Much we have to say respecting the prefaces and notes, the indices and titles, which should accompany any such authorized edition. On these matters it will be time enough to express our sentiments when we shall perceive that the hints here thrown out have been esteemed worthy of notice; and that attention is turned to the necessity or propriety of providing us with a standard edition, no longer subject to alteration from the caprice or ignorance of individuals. The new version

[e] Isa. viii. 15. [f] De Ponto, lib. iii. ep. iv. 19.

which has led to the remarks we have made in this paper, cannot, as we have already observed, supersede the necessity of such a revision. With several of its verbal changes we are certainly pleased; but there are others of which we cannot bring ourselves to approve. The change of "Christ" into "Messiah," and "gospel" into "good tidings," seems unnecessary, and likely to startle ordinary readers. For the rejected words have long become part of the language.

Throughout the notes and preface there is a drift which cannot be overlooked, and which has our cordial approbation; it is to place the gospels in their proper light, not as narratives intended to form a complete digest of our Saviour's life, but as "occasional pieces," so to speak, suggested by particular circumstances, and primarily directed to readers possessing different qualifications from ours, who could understand much that to us must be obscure. The impression on the reader's mind, after having perused this edition, must be, that Christianity never depended, for its code or evidences, upon the compilation of these documents, and that they never could have been intended for a rule of faith. Considering the work in this light, we have an additional pleasure in bearing witness to the learning, diligence, and acuteness of its author.

THE PARABLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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59006

THE

PARABLES

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT,

AS ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

The Four Gospels, translated from the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the original Greek Text, being a Revision of the Rhenish Translation, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By F. P. KENRICK, Bishop of Philadelphia. 8vo. New York, 1849.

ANY work from the pen of Bishop Kenrick must be received with interest and with respect, by every Catholic who speaks the English language. His varied and extensive learning, his great researches, his distinguished abilities, and his sound orthodoxy, combined with his high position in the Church, must give weight to all that he publishes. The work before us is another proof of his lordship's zeal, and another monument of his learning; and as such we sincerely welcome it. The object of this new version, with its commentary, appears to be twofold. First, it is intended to vindicate the Catholic Vulgate, and show its superiority to the Anglican version; secondly, it is directed, both by modifications of the ordinary Catholic translation, and by short notes, to remove difficulties, and facilitate the reading of the gospels. It is by o means a controversial work; the annotations do not undertake to meet those misrepresentations which

result from erroneous doctrine; and on the whole, they will be probably much valued and read by Protestants, as well as Catholics.

The work acquires, in our minds, an additional importance from another consideration. It is the first attempt to bring before the notice of ordinary Catholic readers, the critical study of the text. It is an undoubted fact, that all modern judicious critics will give great weight, and even preference, to the Vulgate, or Latin version, beyond the ordinary Greek text, where the two differ. The reason is simple. On these occasions, the oldest and best manuscripts, and the most ancient versions, almost invariably agree with the Vulgate; and their concurrent testimony establishes the fact, that the Vulgate represents manuscripts more accurate than have been used to form the received Greek text. When we consider the scorn cast by the reformers upon the Vulgate, and their recurrence, in consequence, to the Greek, as the only accurate standard, we cannot but rejoice at the silent triumph which truth has at length gained over clamorous error. For, in fact, the principal writers who have avenged the Vulgate, and obtained for it its critical pre-eminence, are Protestants. But though such a judgment has long been passed by the learned, the great bulk of readers, including men of education, no doubt fancy as yet, that the Greek must always have the preference; and even Catholics may not be free from this opinion. Now Bishop Kenrick has taken the simplest mode of removing it. He shows, in few words, that where the Anglican version agrees with the Greek, but differs from the Latin, the best modern Protestant critics give the preference to the latter.

We have no doubt that this exposure will do much good. At the same time it suggests to us the fear,

and shall we add, the shame, that we are not altogether prepared for these critical remarks. We do not believe that Catholics are worse off than their neighbours, who profess to draw all their faith from Scripture. But as it is not our place to think for these, we naturally confine our remarks to our own body; and we regret to say, that we have not an English Catholic elementary book of biblical introduction. Little or no study is made in our schools of the preliminary matter requisite for reading the Bible, although we are sure that the subject could be made as interesting as it is important. Upon this topic we would willingly dilate, did we not view it in connection with deeper considerations, and a wider range of defects than we can at present dwell on. But whoever has paid attention to biblical critical studies, and knows the niceties of the questions in which they get involved, and has tried to unravel the perplexities of *recensions*, and their theories, and has experienced how difficult it is to fix the date of a manuscript or a version, or to weigh conflicting evidence about any text, will fear, we think, with us, that very few indeed of such readers as Dr. Kenrick will secure, will be able to appreciate the critical portion of his notes, or to understand their drift. Nor can we hope that the very brief "Explanations" at the beginning of the volume, containing necessarily so many hard names, and allusions to matters with which ordinary readers are not familiar, will very effectually assist them. If Dr. Kenrick, or any other sound theological scholar, who could sift the chaff from the wheat in modern scriptural writers, would supply the want to which we have alluded, he would confer a lasting advantage on our body.

The second object proposed in the learned bishop's notes is, we think, of greater practical utility: and we

do not hesitate to say that many readers will derive great benefit from their perusal. They will find many terms and phrases explained, which they have possibly often read without attaching any very definite idea to them; they will see apparent discrepancies very simply reconciled, and obscure passages briefly, but ably, illustrated. This book will, in many cases, dispense with the necessity of consulting larger commentaries.

And again, on this subject, we will express a hope, that this work will lead to others in scriptural learning, and those not merely introductory, but deep, earnest, and solid. For we are fully convinced that the field belongs exclusively to Catholics, and that they alone can properly occupy it. After all the boasted researches of the moderns, what has been done? What are the commentaries of Kuinoël, Rosenmüller, Campbell, or Bloomfield? Sapless, heartless, devotionless, merely critical and philological notes, which help one not a step to taste and relish the sweetness of the divine narrative, or to learn its true lessons. There is in them neither breadth of view nor depth of penetration; they walk you over the surface, and, if anything, deaden the perception of those inner and hidden treasures, those rich mines, which lie beneath the letter. And this must be the case with all Protestant Scripture learning. The tender mysteries of our Saviour's nativity and holy childhood, associated at every moment with His Blessed Mother; His kindness towards sinners, and his familiarity with the poor; the sorrowful scenes of His passion, in their details, as meditated upon by Catholic Saints;[a] all

[a] A curious inquiry to pursue, but not here, would be the following:—How far has the rejection and condemnation, by Protestantism, of pictures and sculptures, conduced to the suppression of meditation, which is a mental representation? We believe much. To take one

these it is impossible for a Protestant mind to view or dwell on, with the intensity and affectionateness that a Catholic heart requires. Then what can a Protestant do with the evangelical counsels, poverty and chastity, and renouncing of all possessions; with the apostles, sent without scrip or staff to preach to heathens; with celibacy and virginity; with fasting and watching; with the forgiveness of sins, and the eating of Christ's Body; with miracles and wonders to be wrought in the Church? He must try to show that some of these things are figurative, and that others only applied to the apostolic times; and that, in fact, they are nothing to us. Only the Catholic can fully and lovingly enter into the heart of God's word, and feel its whole truth and perfect reality. The others must be ever reasoning, while we are content to receive impressions.

We feel, therefore, deeply convinced, that if we would only take full possession of Scripture, and place it before those who love, or affect to love, it, in its true and Catholic light, and draw from it its practical, yet most moving, lessons, in the Catholic spirit, we should easily convince our adversaries that ours is the only religion of Scripture, and our inheritance its interpretation. But perhaps we shall best explain our meaning, by endeavouring to exemplify what we have said. Let us take, for instance, one characteristic point of our Saviour's teaching, and endeavour to develop in it, and through it, the principle which we have laid down:—that it requires a Catholic view of it to do it full justice, while yet this does not exclude those modes of illustration which may be deemed the common property of every scholar, though they require

instance—could a person who has never seen a crucifix possibly realize to his mind the crucifixion?

the chastening hand of orthodox religion safely to apply them.

Were any one asked, what is the peculiar feature of Our Saviour's teaching, as preserved for us in the Gospels, he would naturally answer, that it consists in His constant use of parables and similitudes. The answer would, no doubt, be correct, so far as comparison with other known methods of instruction can lead us. Not only the Fathers, and later teachers in the Church, pursue a system that may seem the very opposite, but even the Apostles, who naturally imbibed the Spirit of their holy Master, and sought to be like him, disclose no traces of this mode of delivering doctrine. Nor can this be the result of want of genius, or of imagination, or of any other faculty. For they wrote under the influence of Divine inspiration, and the Holy Spirit who breathed in, and through, them, and who guided their pens, could have suggested to them parables and illustrations, as easily as simple dogmatic instruction. If He did not so, if in this respect they were guided to depart from the model of their Lord and Teacher, there must have been reasons why that mode should remain sacredly His, and not be considered suitable to them. Again, this could not be because the apostles had to address, in their writings, a different class of disciples. Several of their epistles are directed to the same Jewish people, whether still living in their own country, or dispersed in distant lands. In every respect these compositions bear the Jewish stamp, in style, in reasoning, in quotations, in allusions, in illustration, in figures of speech, in cast of thought. The strongest internal evidence of their genuineness results from this decisive mark of origin, combined with the novelty of their doctrine, and their connection with the gospel system. If, therefore, our Saviour

chose the mode of instruction by parables to gratify a Jewish taste, or to gain the Jewish mind, we might naturally expect, that after His justification of such a course, it would have been pursued by His first followers. And if we say, on the other hand, that the apostles wrote rather for the Church in aftertimes, we shall surely belie our best thoughts and feelings, if we do not consider that every word which our blessed Lord spoke, was as completely addressed to His spouse, as to any unbelieving Jew.

We cannot be surprised that this peculiar choice, by our Redeemer, of His method of instruction, should have engaged the attention of religious minds, and of ecclesiastical writers. Good and solid reasons have been given for His preference; the beauties of His different parables have been unfolded by many an eloquent pen; and the lessons which each contains have been expounded, illustrated, and inculcated, with an almost endless variety of explanation. Each may be likened to a simple theme in music, upon which many composers will elaborate many variations; through all which the original strain will be heard, though one may seem to droop in mournful key, and languid measure, and another to sparkle in all the brilliancy of the wildest caprice. Every parable has been preached upon, commented upon, meditated on, written on; chapters, essays, volumes almost, have been devoted to several of them; their literal, their allegorical, their spiritual, their doctrinal, their ascetic sense has been fully drawn out, sometimes into a very wire of attenuated detail, sometimes into beautiful "chains of gold inlaid with silver,"[b] the chaste delicacy of the commentary enhancing the rich brilliancy of the text. In so well-reaped a field, what can *we* hope to glean?

[b] Cant. i. 10.

Can we, for a moment, flatter ourselves, that we can add another thought, or even another fancy, to the luxuriance of past illustrators; or that we can throw any additional light upon the method itself of parabolic teaching, after all that has been written concerning it?

We would not put such questions into our reader's thoughts, did we feel ourselves compelled to answer them directly; were it necessary either to give a presumptuous affirmative reply, and so forfeit his confidence; or, at once, by a self-condemning negative, cut off our right to pen another line on the subject. We will do neither; but will rather trust ourselves to his indulgence and generosity, to take it for granted that we would not willingly waste the pages of our Review, nor trifle with his patience; and that, therefore, if, merely taking our suggestion from the volume before us, we venture to lead him on so beaten a road, it is not without the hope, that we may draw his attention to something which he may have passed by before. There is no great merit in this. It may be that we have travelled it over more frequently than he, because our business and duty led us regularly that way; it may be that we have had more leisure than he in going along it, and so have sauntered, and loitered, and looked about us more; it may be that we have walked on it in the company of those wiser than ourselves, who, in oriental phrase, may have dropped the pearls of their sage words upon it, and we may remember where, and pick them up as we go on; or it may be that we have held in our hands, as we journeyed, some quaint old volumes, that collected its histories, its traditions, its associations, and hidden sources of interest. If so, there can be but small pretension in embodying the results of such slender and

such pleasant industry, and offering them to others. And having got thus far, let us conclude these introductory remarks, by boldly stating, that we think there are some views of this method of teaching, which have not received their full elucidation, and which yet present a strong attraction; that the system, both in its principles and in its details, bears powerfully upon the evidences both of Christianity in general, and of Catholicity more particularly; and that, moreover, many of the aids to appreciating the full beauty of our Lord's method of instruction, are locked up in works too much out of ordinary readers' way to be familiar to them, or are derived from sources not likely to reach them; which yet are not sufficiently brought forward, as they might be, to enhance the interest, or deepen the impressions, of these sacred lessons.

If we take any portion of our Saviour's discourses in the three first Gospels, we are struck at once with the richness of its texture. It is like a beautiful piece of tessellated work, composed of rich designs of imagery, each of which is beautiful in itself, but runs into the next, while, perhaps, in the midst, to continue our image, comes a fuller and more finished picture, set as in a rich border. There is hardly a sentence that descends to what we should call prose; every thought is conveyed in a sententious, proverbial, and easily-remembered form; or it is a beautiful and perfect simile, or comparison with natural objects, or ordinary usages, such as conveys the lesson familiarly, and gives it a hold on the mind and memory; or it is a more formal and complete allegory, corresponding point by point with a more solemn lesson. Now, to every one of these forms of speech, the term PARABLE is applied. For we may observe that the terms *proverb*

and *parable* are almost convertible in Scripture language. In the three first Gospels, the figurative instructions of our Lord are called Παραβολη: in St. John this word does not occur once; but the word Παροιμια is always used instead.[c] It is true, the latter means a similitude as well as the former; but it is the title given by the Septuagint, to what we call the *Proverbs* of Solomon; and these again are called in the text Παραβολαι,[d] though they exactly correspond to what we should call proverbs. Besides the philological reasons for this commutation of terms,[e] we may assign a very natural one. It is, that what we call a *proverb*, a similitude, and a parable, are only more or less condensed forms of the same species of speech. A proverb or sententious saying, containing in it deep meaning and practical truth, may be easily considered as the moral of a fable or parable, and its frequently figurative form would very often give, at once, the clue to such an illustration. This building of stories upon proverbs has been so often done, that it would be almost childish to dwell upon it. Franklin's story

[c] We may likewise here remark, that *only* in St. Luke is the word παραβολη rendered by *similitudo* in the Vulgate, seven or eight times. In St. Matthew and St. Mark this is never found.

[d] Prov. i. 1; xxv. 1.

[e] The Hebrew word whereby the Proverbs of Solomon are called, משל *mashal*, corresponds to the Arabic مثل *methel*, *like*. It is curious to observe what an influence on all modern European languages the corresponding word in Latin has exercised. From *fabula*, *a fable*, comes *fabulari*, to converse; hence the old Spanish *fablar* (now, by an ordinary conversion, *hablar*), Portuguese *fallar*, Italian *parlare*, French *parler*, and hence our *parlour* and our *parliament!* This proves that wherever the Latin language was vernacular, the ordinary word in conversation for *to speak* was this. And hence we may trace back to the oldest period of the language, the familiar use of apologues and fictitious narratives. In fact, Livy calls Memmius's apologue on the Mons Sacer, the *priscum et horridum dicendi genus*.

of "paying dear for one's whistle," will suffice as an instance. Again, to return to our subject, when our Lord thus addresses his fellow-townsmen:—"Doubtless you will say to me this similitude (παραβολὴν): Physician, heal thyself."[f] It is plain that this expression corresponds exactly to what we should call a proverb, yet who does not see in it, at once, a full parable, which scarcely requires development? A physician loudly proclaims his skill in curing every, or some particular, complaint: a patient sends for him, and sees at once that he is as sick as himself, and that his boasted method of cure has not answered in his own case. He very naturally rejects him as an empiric, and bids him first cure himself with his nostrums, before he tries them on others. "Physician," he exclaims, "heal thyself." It matters not whether the phrase arose out of an apologue, or leads to it; whether it be the fruit or the seed, is all one.

If, therefore, among the Jews, a proverb, a similitude, and a parable, were considered as but different degrees of the same form of expression, and if our Lord's discourses were almost entirely made up of the three, we can easily see how literally those words of the sacred text meant to apply,—"all these things Jesus spoke in parables to the multitude, and without parables he did not speak to them."[g]

It is manifest that a marked difference may be expected, as to novelty, between those shorter proverbial phrases, and those poetical comparisons by which our Saviour conveys simpler moral and dogmatic truths, and those longer parables which contain in them a complete system of doctrines. No one, however wise, when conversing with ordinary men, will always employ original phrases, nor even deliver

[f] Luke iv. 23. [g] Matt. xiii. 34.

original ideas. He must be understood, and, to keep up the interest of an audience, say many things which have been said before. Proverbs, which carry in them the thoughts and experience of the good and the wise, have become a public property; they will be used by the very best and wisest; but they will be used aptly, happily, more strikingly than by others; and what is still more important, they will receive fresh strength and higher meaning, and be made to contain some new and great truth. In examining the shorter parables of our blessed Lord, there is danger of two extremes; of considering everything as new, and so rejecting all illustration from other sources, on the one hand, and of trusting too much to the light which these may throw upon them, on the other. The latter was the crime of that wretched school of biblical literature, which rose in Germany in the course of the last century; was matured to avowed rationalism in this; not so much poisoned, as withered up, the last fibres of faith which Protestantism yet held by; tainted this country with a venom which has not yet fully developed; and then seems to have gone out, like a noxious vapour, kindled for a time by an infernal flame. In its insidious beginnings, this was one of its worst deceits: that overlooking or rejecting ecclesiastical teaching and tradition, it sought, with perverted erudition, for all its illustrations of God's word out of it, and of the natural channel of interpretation. But, on the other hand, to reject totally the aid of such secondary sources of illustration, is, in truth, not merely to reject such light as they can cast on the sacred text, but to exclude what helps much to raise the character of our Lord Himself to its true dignity. Let us examine a few instances.

Our Saviour makes use of a most appropriate illus-

tration in the following passage:—"How sayest thou to thy brother: let me cast the mote out of thine eye, and behold a beam in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye?"[h] Now we can hardly doubt that this was a proverbial expression among the Jews, for we find it quoted as such in the Rabbins, but with a very different effect. "It is written, that in the time of the judges, that if any one said, 'Cast out the mote (stalk) from thy eye;' the other would answer, 'Cast out the beam from thine.'"[i] "Rabbi Tarphon said,—'I wonder if in this age there be any one who will receive correction; for if any one says to another, Cast out the mote from thine eye, he would answer him, Cast the beam out of thine.'"[k] Similar passages occur elsewhere. As here used, the expression was clearly one of retort, and he who used it is evidently blamed. The haughty Pharisee, the unbelieving Sadducee, the scandalous priest, was no doubt generally the reprover of others' failings (for *they* were not "as the rest of men"), and to them was the retort frequently and justly addressed. Now our Lord exactly takes part with those who make it, but He goes further still, and takes it in God's name, and brands with the terrible name of "hypocrite," him who dares to incur the injustice of correcting others, while he is guilty of even greater sins. His treatment of the accusers of the woman taken in adultery,[l] is the best illustration of this meaning. But Christ's application of the familiar proverb rises higher; it goes to teach, what Jewish doctor never thought of, mutual forbearance, gentleness in dealing with others' defects,

[h] Matt. vii. 4, 5.
[i] Bava Bathra, f. x. 2.
[k] Erachin, f. xvi. 2.
[l] John viii.

strict scrutiny into our own failings rather than into theirs, and self-correction before we undertake the delicate office of directing others. And thus, as in that same sermon on the mount, He took the texts of the old law, and amended them for the new, in all that regarded charity, so did He no less those familiar and additional phrases, current among the teachers of the people.

Let us take another example, which has given rise to much strange discussion: —"It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven."[m] Even in ancient times, as appears, from marginal notes on manuscripts, there was a disposition to modify the apparent harshness of this text. A camel passing through the eye of a needle seemed almost incongruous; and hence by changing κάμηλος into κάμιλος, a "camel" into a "cable," a more natural connection was sought to be given between the two terms employed: "a cable passing through the eye of a needle." Drusius warmly espoused this reading;[n] and others followed him. But no sensible commentator would now adopt so useless an attempt at emendation. There can be little doubt that the expression was a proverbial one, to imply an impossibility. For with the exception of the animal mentioned, we find the same proverb in use in central and eastern Asia. In those countries the largest beast of burthen was the elephant, and the image in the comparison was naturally drawn from it. In the *Bava Metsia*, one of the Talmudic treatises, a person thus addresses another who dealt in wonders: "Perhaps you are from the city of Pumbeditha, where they make an elephant pass

[m] Matt. xix. 24.

[n] *In loc.* and in his treatise on Heb. Proverbs, in Crit. Sac. tom. v.

through the eye of a needle."[o] And in another work it is written: "They do not show a golden palm, nor an elephant going through the eye of a needle."[p] Dr. Frank has given a similar proverb as Indian: "As if an elephant were to try to pass through a small opening."[q] What the elephant was to the oriental Asiatic, the camel was to the western: the proverb would naturally present this substitution of animals, yet be substantially the same. Hence, the Arabs have the proverb, with the camel, as in the gospel.[r] But what an awful severity, what a definitely acute edge, does not this vague and general expression, more of incredulity than of impossibility, receive, when applied, as by our Lord, to the difficulty, for the rich, of entering His kingdom. And how increased is the strength of the figure, by the appeal, which follows it, to God's omnipotence, as the sole power that can reverse or modify the sentence. "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible,"[s] and therefore this. So firmly welded and riveted have the two parts of the sentence become, in our Saviour's mouth, that no power will ever again separate them; it would be profane to reduce again to a general expression of difficulty, or human impossibility, that which has been definitely appropriated by Him, to declare the most terrible moral truth of His divine religion.

We can easily conceive how this familiarity with the proverbial forms of speech in use among the Rab-

[o] Fol. xxxviii. 2.

[p] Beracoth, fol. lv. 2.

[q] 50th,—Continuation of the Accounts of the E. I. Missionaries. Halle, 1742.

[r] It occurs in the Koran, Sur. vii. 38:—"They who charge our signs with falsehood, and reject them, the gates of heaven shall be closed against them, and they shall not enter Paradise till a camel pass through the eye of a needle."

[s] Matt. xix. 26.

bins and learned men of His nation, this apt and elegant use of their favourite expressions, and this power giving them new and peculiar beauties, gained Him at once the respect and confidence of the people; associated Him, of right, with their admitted teachers; shut the jealous mouths of these men; and delighted and charmed all; till they would remain whole days, regardless of food, in His society. Hence, even in that very place where He was no prophet, the people "all gave testimony to Him: and they wondered at the words of grace that proceeded from His mouth, and they said, Is not this the son of Joseph?"[t] But what doubtless added still further to enhance the beauty and gracefulness of His discourse, was the readiness with which His illustrations and comparisons seemed to spring from the objects around, or from the most homely subjects. How important this consideration is, when we study our Saviour's more formal parables, we shall see later: but in the shorter images,—the *fabellæ breviores*, as Quintilian calls them, this obvious facility of taking them up must have rendered them much more striking and interesting. The whitening corn-fields suggest the thought of the spiritual harvest ripe for the sickle;[u] the fig-tree putting forth its fruit furnishes a lesson on the coming of God's kingdom. "*See* the fig-tree, and all the trees, when they *now* shoot forth their fruit."[x] When discoursing on the mount, how happily the birds flitting about furnish a beautiful image: "*Behold* the birds of the air:" and the lilies which spring up, as travellers inform us, on that very ground, give rise to that still more graceful similitude, "*Consider* the lilies of the field how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not

[t] Luke iv. 22. [u] John iv. 35. [x] Luke xxi. 29.

arrayed as one of these."[y] Then every action and operation of the household, and of ordinary life—the grinding at the mill;[z] the leavening of the dough;[a] the good housewife's hoard;[b] the governing of the house;[c] the cultivation of the vineyard, from its planting[d] to its yielding fruit;[e] the tillage of the field[f] and of the garden;[g] the pastoral life in its smallest details,[h]—each furnishes him with most appropriate imagery, and most pertinent illustration. At the same time even the more refined and luxurious life of the higher classes is no less fertile in His hand; the management of the estate;[i] the distribution of confidential duties to servants;[k] the sumptuous feast;[l] the

[y] Matt. vi. 26, 28. Solomon is the Crœsus of oriental poetry. The prince of Persian poets, Hafez, has a similar figure:—

چو گل سوار شود بر هوا سلیمان وار

"When the rose rides on the air like Solomon."

(Rosseau's Flowers of Pers. Liter. p. 165.) The rose is in Persian, what the lily is in Hebrew, poetry.

[z] Matt. xxiv. 41. [a] Luke xiii. 21.

[b] Luke xv. 8. [c] Luke xii. 35.

[d] Matt. xx. 1; xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1; Luke xx. 9.

[e] John xv. 1—6. "Every branch that beareth fruit, he (the husbandman) will purge it, that it may bring forth more fruit" (v. 2). This same figure is beautifully applied, almost in the same words, by the Persian poet Saadi:—

زکوة مال بدر کن که فضلهٔ رزرا
چو باغبان ببرد بیشتر دهد اعگور

"Distribute in alms the tithe of thy wealth; for the more the gardener cuts away the redundancy of the vine, the more fruit it gives."—Gulistan, chap. ii. tale xlix.

[f] Matt. xiii. 3, 24; Mark iv. 3, 26; Luke viii. 4.

[g] Luke xiii. 6. [h] Matt. xviii. 12; Luke xv. 4; John x. 1.

[i] Luke xvi. 1. [k] Matt. xxv. 1; Luke xix. 12.

[l] Matt. xxii. 12; Luke xiv. 16. We are tempted to introduce another oriental illustration of an important feature of this parable.

bridal procession ;[m] the processes of law ;[n] even political events of recent occurrence,[o] serve for Him as groundwork of most expressive and beautiful lessons. And there is every reason to suppose, that even such detailed and pointed parables as that of the rich man and Lazarus had a basis of fact, and alluded to characters and incidents well known.

When we consider, in addition, that in almost every case these parables could not have been prepared, but were introduced in discourses arising from casual events, or were spoken in answer to sudden questions, we shall not be surprised at the delight which they gave his audience, and how they found his words truly full of elegance and grace. What we have said will

(v. 11.) The guests called in on a sudden are all found clothed in a wedding, or feasting, garment (for γάμος expresses the feast), corresponding to the Roman *cœnatorium*. There is only one exception. As he is severely reprimanded and punished for not having one, and yet he and all his fellow-guests were poor, we must suppose that rich garments were given to them, and that gross neglect, or some worse fault, was imputable to the unrobed guest. Now Fakr-Eddin Razi informs us, how Jaffar, the son of Yaya, in the days of the great Egyptian khalif Haroun Al Rashid, used to have in his palace secret banquets, and that the guests all put on garments of various colours, red, yellow, or green, and the forbidden cup circulated freely among them. One day he had assembled in his apartments all his boon-companions except one, whose name was Abd-el-melik, and he left orders with his porter to admit none but him. It happened, however, that there was at court another of that name, a man of austere morals, whom Jaffar had in vain endeavoured to draw to his jovial parties. He happened to come to speak on business, gave his name, and was admitted by the unsuspecting porter. The guests were surprised and confounded at his appearance: but he, without embarrassment, joined the party, and said, "Bring me also one of those rich garments;" and only after he had been thus clothed, asked for a cup of wine.—Sacy's Chrestom. Arabe, pp. 35, 36 of text.

[m] Matt. xxv. 1. [n] Ib. v. 25. [o] Luke xix. 14.

enable us to explain the beautiful description which our Lord himself gives us of His own mode of teaching. After the remarkable series of parables in the thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew, in which the Church is symbolized as a field, a treasure, a pearl, and a net, our Saviour, having explained them to His disciples, thus addresses them:—"Have you understood all these things? They say to Him, Yes. He said unto them, Therefore is every scribe [or Doctor] instructed in the kingdom of heaven, like unto a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure [that is, his store] new things and old." (vv. 51, 52.) Our Lord, having made use of different parables, some from common life, as the sowing of a field, or a draught of fishes, others from more extraordinary occurrences, such as the finding of a treasure, or of an invaluable pearl, asks His apostles if they understood all these illustrations. They answer Him affirmatively. *Therefore*, He replies, that is, because you find these different images so clear, you see herein the skill of the experienced religious teacher. He is like an economical householder, who has carefully stored up objects of every kind, some old, some new, and knows where always to find just the thing that he requires. So the good teacher, who has treasured up in his mind a rich collection of varied learning, will be ready always to cull out just what is wanted, old things or new: the old, by adapting to his doctrine ancient maxims, proverbs, and wise sayings, as well as historical events; and the new, by seizing the occurrences of the moment, or objects that are present, and turning them to the profit of his scholars.

We have seen how admirably and how perfectly Christ did this. But His hearers not only found His

words full of grace, but they marked a difference between His teaching and that of their usual instructors, which they described in this phrase: that "He was teaching them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees."[p] Besides the remarkable and most important meaning which we hope later to draw from these words, we may easily explain what the Jews meant, by reference to the corresponding teaching of the Pharisees and Scribes. For we may here assume, that their teaching is fairly represented to us by the lessons recorded in the Jewish writings, of the parables and sayings of the older Rabbins. We have not leisure or space to prove this; but it would not be difficult. We could show that St. Jerome refers to, and even, in his version, follows traditional Jewish interpretations to be found in Talmudic writings; and if any one desires to test this assertion within a very limited compass, we would refer him to his commentary on Osee. In like manner St. Ephrem has some peculiar comments which are manifestly traditional, agreeing most curiously with the Koran,[q] which certainly drew its accounts from the Jews. And St. James of Edessa, quoting one of these histories, about Melchisedec, informs us that it came from Jewish traditions.[r] St. James of Sarug does the same.[s] If therefore we are justified in considering the Jewish histories, recorded in later writers, as traditions of far earlier periods, we shall be warranted in comparing the teaching of our Saviour with that there

[p] Matt. vii. 29.

[q] As that Jacob knew the story brought him by his sons, of Joseph's death, to be untrue (*in loc.*); which is asserted in the Koran. (Sur. *Jusuphu.*) Again, that the rocks struck by Moses produced twelve fountains (Op. tom. i. p. 263), which again is found in the Koran. (Sur. ii.)

[r] Op. S. Ephrem. tom. i. p. 273.

[s] Ib. p. 274.

recorded; and the result will be what the people describe, in the text just cited. The teaching of the Jewish doctors and expounders of the law was frivolous, trivial, and childish, and related to every manner of petty distinction and dispute, respecting the law, ceremonial and moral. We do not recollect a single instance in which a masterly grasp of great principles is exhibited, in which anything like a broad, generous, exalted view is taken of the whole law, or of a single precept. The character of this teaching could not possibly have been given in stronger and juster terms than it is by our Lord, when he reproaches them with measuring out their tithe of mint and cummin, and letting alone the weightier things of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith, straining out a gnat, and swallowing a camel.[t] Compared with this, how healthy, vigorous, noble, and enlarged must the teaching of our Lord have justly appeared. There the spirit of the law had been clearly caught and defined, and the new and higher law that was engrafted on it, in the Sermon on the Mount, to which the Jews referred, was manifestly its rightful sequence, and natural maturing to perfection. And every illustration introduced, instead of serving to perplex, and bind still further, as in the rabbinical teaching, simplified and explained His meaning most happily, and supported generous and exalted views of duty.

What we have written will guide us at least one step, towards answering the question with which we started:—Why did our Lord choose to teach in parables, and why did not the apostles? Because it was necessary for him to claim and secure the title of a Master in Israel, a public teacher; and so to drive from the field the false teachers who held it, and who had

[t] Matt. xiii. 23, *seq.*

so thoroughly perverted the old law, that it was necessary to sweep away from it their corruptions, before the new could be fastened on it. This, which may be called the aggressive part of our Saviour's ministry, was not to be accomplished without great command, great vigour, and almost violence. And to it belong those strong and magnificent declamations, in which He thoroughly unmasks their hypocrisy, uncharitableness, and hidden vice. How was this work of power to succeed, save by Christ's showing himself fully equal to those rivals in all which their dupes, and the whole people, considered wisdom, and even assert successfully superiority over them in their own modes of teaching? And effectually we see, that though not brought up in their schools, nor associated with any of their sects, nor holding familiarity with any of them, and consequently having a coalition of Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, priests, and doctors, arrayed against Him, though cordially hating each other, He obtained the title which they most coveted,[u] that of Master,[x] Teacher,[y] and Rabbi.[z] But though this was necessary for Him, it was not so for His followers. On the contrary, as they were to have "only one Master, Christ," they were forbidden to assume or to aspire to this title.[a]

But in addition to the position thus required by our Lord, for founding the Christian religion on the groundwork of the former revelation, there is another reason why he must be considered almost compelled

[u] Matt. xxiii. 7.

[x] Matt. viii. 19; xii. 38; Luke ix. 38; xx. 21, 28, 39; John viii. 4, *et al. pass.*

[y] Luke v. 5; viii. 24, 45, *et al. pass.* This word ἐπιστάτης is peculiar to St. Luke in the New Testament.

[z] Matt. xxvi. 25, 49; Mark ix. 4; John i. 38; iii. 2, 26, *et al.*

[a] Matt. xxiii. 8, 10.

to adopt the system of teaching by parables. This is, that it was associated throughout the East with the idea of wisdom. Solomon, the very type of wisdom, was the great parable, or proverb writer of the Jews.[b] When the Queen of Saba came to him, it was expressly to try his wisdom by enigmas or riddles,[c] which in those times were like parables.[d] And the following is the description of a wise man:—"The wise man will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients . . . . he will keep the sayings of renowned men, and will enter withal into the subtleties of parables. He will search out the hidden meanings of proverbs, and will be conversant in the secrets of parables."[e] Jeremias celebrates the wisdom of the inhabitants of Theman, the capital of the Idumeans.[f] And Baruch tells us in what that wisdom consisted, when he speaks of "the children of Agar also, that search after the wisdom that is of the earth, the merchants of Merrha and Theman, and *the tellers of fables*, and *searchers of prudence and understanding*."[g] We might add many examples more. But it was so throughout the East. The story of Œdipus proves it for Egypt. Æsop is the impersonation of that oriental wisdom, as it appeared in early Greece; and his fables may be traced through the Arabic of Lokman (surnamed as their writer, "the Wise") and the Persian of Bidpai (known more popularly as Pilpay), to the Hipotadesa of India; a genealogy as clear as that of our numerals through Araby to India. The Armenians fall into the chain,

[b] 3 Reg. iv. 32.

[c] 3 Reg. x. 1. Menander and Dius, the historians of Tyre, whose fragments are preserved by Eusebius, inform us that the friendship of Solomon and Hiram was kept up by their sending one another enigmas to solve.

[d] As Jud. xiv. 14.

[e] Ecclus. xxxix. 1, 3.

[f] Jer. xlix. 7.

[g] Bar. iii. 23.

through the fables of Vartbran. The Gulistan, or Rose-garden of Saadi, one of the most beautiful oriental poems, to which we have referred in a former note, consists entirely of a classified series of short parables, or tales, sometimes containing only the saying of some sage; each followed by an often exquisite strophe, containing the moral, or application. And not to multiply instances, suffice it to say, that so much authority is granted to this form of teaching among Mussulmans, that the prohibition to drink wine, now so important a feature in their religious code, rests entirely, not on the Koran, but on the teaching of a parable in the Taalim, their second religious book. So long, then, as, in the country and age in which our Saviour lived, the idea of wisdom was so completely involved in that of teaching by similitudes and parables, and this not rashly, but in accordance with the definitions of the sacred writings, and the character of acknowledged sages, it became Him, so far to adapt himself to these habitual and deeply-rooted views, as to insure the deepest and most reverential attention, as a sage. Nay, it was absolutely necessary that He should cope with Solomon himself in his own peculiar form of wisdom, that so He might confidently and boldly tell the Jews, "Behold more than Solomon is here!"[h] The meaning of these words is indeed very deep and solemn. For as the gift of wisdom to that king was given in terms that excluded rivalry from man,[i] to assert, so decidedly and so boldly, superiority to him, and that in One in whom humility was first shown to be a main part of wisdom, was equal to a

[h] Luke xi. 31.

[i] I "have given thee a wise and understanding heart, in so much that there hath been no one like thee, before thee, *nor shall arise after thee.*"—3 Reg. iii. 12.

declaration of His superior, and Divine, nature. For no one but the Giver of wisdom to Solomon could possess more wisdom than he.

These motives for teaching in the manner which alone would commend itself to the Jews, and secure their esteem, will in part explain those awful passages, in which our Lord seems to intimate that He taught them in parables, on purpose that they might not understand.[k] For we see that this necessity was one of their own making: and that the deafness and the blindness which followed from it, were the fruit of their obstinate adherence to so imperfect a method of teaching.

But the meaning of such passages will become perhaps more intelligible from our next consideration, which leads us into the main scope of our dissertation. If we accurately examine the whole system of teaching by parables adopted by our Lord, we shall see that it corresponds to prophecy in the Old Law; that, in fact, in them is to be found the germ of the whole Christian system, as the history of Israel and Juda, and of Christ and His reign, is to be found in the prophets. As in the latter we have seldom anywhere one continued context on these subjects, but have to construct the web out of fragments and separate pieces, not without study and research; so likewise in the parables we have a variety of apparently detached lessons, which, considered individually, give but partial results, but which, compared and joined together, throw marvellous light upon the whole theory of religion and the Church. In like manner, therefore, as the prophecies read or heard, when first uttered, were generally most obscure, often unintelligible, and served even to irritate those who heard them,[l] and even made them

[k] Matt. xiii. 13, *seq.*

[l] Jer. xxxvii. xxxviii.

harder than they were before; so were the parables, which alluded to a system not yet fully established, necessarily unintelligible, except in so far as, like prophecies of imminent fulfilment, they alluded to the commencement of the system. And as that beginning involved the destruction of the existing state and its upholders, it naturally irritated, provoked, and through their obstinate perversity, even hardened, those unhappy men. At the same time it might happen, and it did happen, that a parable spoken in answer to a question, while beautifully pertinent, and sufficient for its present purpose, contained in it treasures of wisdom for the future Church, which could not possibly catch the eye of the first superficial observer. Let us illustrate our meaning by an example:—

In the thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew, there is a series of parables relating to the "kingdom of heaven," that is, the Church. These need not necessarily have been spoken all at the same time. The first of them, the parable of the sower, occurs in the three first gospels, and all the Evangelists remark, that it was addressed to a vast multitude.[m] And in truth it may be well considered as the preliminary, or introductory, parable to the whole series of the parables. For it lays down the necessary dispositions for receiving, with profit, the words of Christ, and particularly describes His ministry. But the other parables may be taken in the following order. 1. The seed then sown by Christ in this field of the world, that portion of it even which fell upon well-prepared ground, was soon to be disturbed by the enemy. A spurious seed would soon be scattered among it, and it would spring up side by side with the blade of genuine grain; that is, even in the Church itself, and among the faithful,

[m] Matt. xiii. 3; Mark iii. 3; Luke viii. 4.

there would arise corruptions, vices, and scandals; the parable of the cockle.[n] 2. The sowing of this seed has evidently two distinct operations, one on the individual, the other on the Church or world in general. The heart, the dispositions, of those to whom doctrine is addressed, are essential for the cultivation in its first instance: when many have received it within, these uniting would form the Church. To each one, then, this seed of true doctrine is of immense importance and value; it is the treasure, the pearl of immense price, which must be purchased by sacrifice of all else.[o] When once hidden in the heart, it is as a leaven which will communicate its qualities on every side, and make the whole of society ferment with its spirit.[p] 3. That seed which will at first be so small, hidden, and confined, will now spring up about the earth; the grain long buried, will become a great and glorious tree.[q] A portion only of all this belonged to the Jews; the duty of receiving Christ's doctrine, laying it to heart, and being ready to surrender all to possess it. The rest is prophetic, belongs to the future, and neither friend nor foe could understand it then. It required fulfilment, and, as no one but our Lord himself knew what His kingdom, or Church, was to be, so no one, till the time came, could fully see the beauty of the applications. The time did come at length; and we shall see how admirable is the wisdom which this teaching laid up in store for us.

There has never been any founder of a false sect, whether deceived himself by fanaticism, or deceiving others in malice, who has not promised, and pretended to make, a perfect system. The world, if it receive their doctrine, is to be regenerated, the elect alone

[n] Matt. xiii. 24.
[o] Ib. 44, 45.
[p] Ib. 33.
[q] Ib. 31.

have to reign, or even to exist; vice and evil are to disappear before their doctrines and rule. Mohammed taught this, and used the sword of extermination to realize it. It formed the groundwork of the so-called reformation, beginning with the mischievous tenets of Wycliffe and Huss, that sin put an end to all rights, down to the murderous ravings of the German Anabaptists, the fanatical brutishness of the Cromwellian Puritans, and the wild dreams of Mormonites or Agapemonites. Certainly the beginning of the Church might easily have seduced men into the same dream; and the sight of the one-hearted church of Jerusalem, or of the love-bound community of Alexandria, might have made sanguine believers hope, that a state of unmixed virtue was beginning to prevail on earth. But jealousy and contest soon came in to dispel the vision. It was not, however, till many years after that this false principle assumed the form of a specific heresy. It is essentially in every heresy; it lurked in the early sects; it appeared palpably in Novatianism and Montanism; but it incarnated itself in Donatism. The basis of that heresy and schism, was, that the Church could only consist of incorrupt members, and that every portion of it which tolerated, or forgave those guilty of a grievous crime, had forfeited its claims. Protestantism is essentially Donatist, whether in its high-church theory of branch separation from the trunk, or in its lowest evangelical idea of an invisible elect church. Where was the confutation of this dangerous theory to be found? In the parables which we have arranged, with one more which follows them, and is but a confirmation of a preceding one; the likening of the kingdom of Heaven to a net, gathering all sorts of fishes, which are separated only on the

shore.[r] This, our Saviour, by mentioning the angels as the sorters of good and bad, clearly refers to the explanation given by Himself, of the parable of the cockle. To judge of the importance of these parables, on the point referred to, let the reader only open, at random, any of St. Augustine's works against the Donatists. He will hardly glance at a page in which he does not find these two parables quoted or alluded to, together with the similar image of the Baptist, that on the barn-floor the wheat and the chaff lie mixed, till the winnowing-time comes in the end.[s] "Novit Dominus triticum suum, novit et paleam," is almost a proverbial expression with that Father. He is never afraid of wearying by repeating the same arguments: these images are again and again quoted, are turned on every side, are alternately arguments fully developed, and illustrations to elucidate his own reasonings. But it is clear that in them lies the whole gist of the question; and that our Lord had carefully buried in them a seed of doctrine, which would not reach its maturity, till they who heard it had long passed away.

And now let us take another instance of parables seemingly spoken for a passing illustration; which yet have acquired a most sacred importance in the Church. One of the dangers to our Lord's disciples arose from the facility with which they would take up the tone of false zeal common in their time, and considered a characteristic of great virtue. For it is difficult for men, especially if untutored, to get clear of national characteristics. Symptoms of this soon appeared. There were little pharisaical contests for the first place, among those young children of the

[r] Matt. xiii. 47. [s] Ib. iii. 12; Luke iii. 17.

Gospel:[t] they soon got to wish for judgment upon those who resisted their master:[u] and they rebuked little ones who would approach Him, as they thought, over familiarly.[x] The Pharisees, it need not be added, only included our Saviour among those whom they despised, the sinners and publicans, because of His charity towards them. To each of these two classes, to His apostles and to the proud Pharisees, He separately, as it would appear, proposed the same parable; that of the man who, having a hundred sheep, and losing one of them, leaves the ninety-nine in what we call the desert, that is, to use a corresponding English phrase, on the *Downs*, or an uninclosed range of hilly pasture-land, and goes to seek the lost one. In St. Matthew, this parable is given to show the value of the soul of the least child before God, in answer to one of the uneasy questions alluded to, put by the disciples. "At that hour the disciples came to Jesus, saying: Who thinkest Thou is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven? And Jesus calling unto him a little child," &c. And so from the sin of scandalizing, or causing the loss of, such an one, He proceeds to the earnest desire which God has of his salvation. Then comes the parable of the lost sheep, with this conclusion:—"Even so it is not the will of your Father who is in Heaven, that one of those little ones should perish."[y] In St. Luke, publicans and sinners have gathered round our Saviour, and the Pharisees murmur, saying:—"This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them." He replies by the same parable, with a different inference:—"Even so there shall be joy in Heaven upon one sinner that doth penance."[z] The parable, therefore, is primarily spoken, to illustrate

[t] Luke xxii. 24. [u] Ib. ix. 54. [x] Matt. xix. 14; Luke xviii. 15.
[y] Matt. xviii. 1—14. [z] Luke xv. 1—7.

two points of immediate use:—1st, that His disciples, instead of striving for pre-eminence, and despising children, must take them as a model, as being the special favourites of Heaven, for whose safety God is as careful as a shepherd is of that of a stray sheep; and 2ndly, that as a lost sheep recovered is dearer to the shepherd than what are safe at home, so is a converted sinner more a cause of joy to heaven, than many just souls. But no sooner has our blessed Lord elsewhere said, "I am the Good Shepherd,"[a] and in a different parable assumed all the characteristics of one, than these words touch with a ray of new light this parable, and present it to us in a far more tender and consoling form. We no longer look at the immediate application, or consider it as an illustration: it becomes a description of Himself, in His dealings with the Jews, and with each individual soul, with Magdalen, with Peter, with Saul, with every other penitent, down to the writer or reader of these lines. But how could proud Pharisee, or dull disciple, nay, or bright angel, unless foreknowledge be part of his light, have possibly understood the whole beauty, reality, and pathos of this parable, till the pursuit of the lost sheep had been made from Olivet to Sion, and from Sion to Calvary, and the stray one had been seen borne up the toiling ascent, upon shoulders bruised beneath the cross's load? As long as the world shall last, that brief parable, which sounded at first but as a most apt figure of speech, will prove the consolation of many an aching breast, and the light of many a darkened spirit, and the inspirer of many a grateful thought.

But let us look at both these classes of parables, and we hesitate not to say, that only a Catholic can thoroughly realize them, or apply them. A Protes-

[a] John x. 11.

tant may see in them just as much as the Jew did. He will understand, in the first class, how the Christian religion was a treasure, or a pearl, worth every sacrifice. But if he stands to his Homilies, or to the popular belief of his church, he must teach, not that the enemy sowed cockle or tares among Christ's wheat, but that the whole crop came to nothing; that much of the seed rotted from the beginning and brought up spurious plants, and that what sprung up soon cankered, turned sickly, and died down to the root; so that the field showed little better than the high-road or the rock. For such would be the parable, to correspond with the theory that all Christendom was for hundreds of years involved in idolatry. Then, if to get *some* Protestant church-theory out of the parable, it is supposed that the bad seed signifies error in doctrine as well as scandals in morals—so that the Church has to be a sort of confederation of all manner of sects; or, like Anglicanism, may permit peaceful existence in her of any amount of denominations or shades;—then, indeed, we go counter to historical realization of it. For the Church has ever repelled into antagonism every other system, and has refused any to coexist with her in the same field. Then we have the image of the tree springing up from one seed, which at once overthrows this theory. The idea of one tree from one root, with living coherence of all its branches with the trunk, is incapable of application, upon any other system than that of Catholic unity. It is easy then to see how the parables of our Lord, which describe the future Church, or any of its great characteristics, can only have their true meaning in Catholic hands, and only receive verification in our Church. And in the beautiful parable of the lost

sheep, painful as it may be to say it, still we must not hesitate to assert it,—only a Catholic can feel its application. Others no doubt sin, and repent, and feel the sense (if their religious opinions guide them that way) of a forgiveness. Or a few, who mimic Catholic institutions, may seek forgiveness in a sham confession and hollow absolution—both uttered under the very shadow of an episcopal reproof. But a system of grace which, from first to last, by a certain working, brings home to the penitent sinner the lively assurance and sense that he has been mercifully followed through his wanderings, by a kind and steady friend; that he has been won back by gentleness; that there has been a delicate raising up of his heavy load, a caressing of his sickened heart, a mild soothening of his sorrows; that the thorns which had wound themselves around him as he wandered are not plucked, but picked from him with a dainty hand, and every wound and every bruise searchingly and minutely probed, but only to be cleansed and closed and skilfully dressed; and that then he has been borne in arms like a babe back to his home; a system, or rather a power, of grace, which makes him know the day and the hour, and the very moment in which he is again God's child, that is to be found nowhere, yes nowhere, save only in the one true fold of God's Catholic Church. And do we want one short, convincing proof? Nowhere else is the banquet ever ready, at which the angels are invited to rejoice for the lost sheep found. Nowhere else is communion considered, or given, as the pledge of a sinner's repentance. His heart may be full of contrition and sorrow, but he may wait many months before his minister shall think that this is a ground for an extra communion-day in the parish: but in the Catholic

Church, he bounds, at once, full of love, to the banquet; from Magdalen's place at the feet, to John's on the bosom, of Jesus.

If this fulfilment be the result of a dispensation in the Church, this parable creates a not less perfect counterpart by its moral application. How the early Christians loved this image! How they sculptured it on their tombs, painted it in their catacomb oratories, enamelled it on their glass! The type of their Lord as the Good Shepherd, with the wayward sheep upon His shoulders, oh! how it spoke to their hearts of the mercies of their conversion! How tender a treatment of the sinner, to represent him as the sheep, the very kin of the Lamb of God! Then how natural that an institution founded for reclaiming and saving souls, that have gone the most fearfully astray, should take the same emblem and the same name. It keeps ever before the thoughts of those holy religious who adopt it, the charity with which their duties are to be practised, and the gentleness with which those bruised souls are to be handled. In other instances and ways do the parables, so easy of adaptation in the Catholic mind, influence the institutions and the language of the Church. To call the duties of the ministry the "labours or the cultivation of the vineyard," to speak of the clergy as "husbandmen," simply *operarii*, and above all to give familiarly the name of shepherd or pastor to the bishop, more perhaps in other countries than in ours, are modes of speech most common among Catholics, but scarcely so, we believe, among even Anglicans. This trifling circumstance shows, how the parables fit into our system, as we have before observed.

And as we have alluded to the application made by our Lord to Himself of the image of the Good Shep-

herd, we will observe; that as He is the model of pastors, the characteristics which He so justly assumes to Himself, must be considered as those at which inferior shepherds of souls should aim. Now this again is practical to a Catholic mind, even in that hard duty of being ready to lay down life for the sheep. Protestantism has had its pretended martyrs; the Church of England numbers bishops amongst them; Cranmer and Ridley for example. But can it be for a moment pretended, that they, or any of their fellows, laid down their lives for their flocks—threw themselves generously between their people and iniquity, and became a willing sacrifice? But our own St. Thomas, and the late Archbishop of Paris, and St. Stanislaus, and St. John Nepomucen (though not a bishop), and many others, fulfilled this to the letter. And the number is still greater of those, who have shown themselves ready to make the sacrifice.

It will be seen, by what we have written, that we consider the parable-teaching of our Lord as mainly embodying doctrines or precepts, belonging to the Church about to be established. This is in fact our idea; and we think it susceptible of being pursued still further. Speaking, of course, not so much of the passing, short, proverbial illustrations, or of such comparisons as are merely explanatory, with both which every discourse of our Lord is enriched, as of set and formal parables, there is a striking difference to be traced in the different gospels, between the selections made by each. It will be seen, we think, that St. Matthew, who writes for the Jews, and whose main drift is to show them how Christianity had to supersede their religion, has recorded, almost exclusively, parables that illustrate this point. His parables relate to the rejection of the Jews, in order to make

way for Christianity. In addition to the series of parables in this thirteenth chapter, which we have already quoted, and which all go to inculcate the importance of embracing the new religion, the following are the principal ones: indeed, all which occur in him, as spoken to the Jews. 1. The labourers in the vineyard, of whom those called at the end of the day were made equal to such as had been there all day; that is, the Gentiles were put on a level with the Jews.[b] 2. The two sons sent to work, one of whom pretended to go, and did not—the Jews again—the other demurred, but went; that is, publicans and sinners, who should go before them into the Church.[c] 3. The vineyard, let out to husbandmen who gave no return, but persecuted their master's messengers and servants, and slew his son; for which the vineyard was to be given to other husbandmen,—a parable so plain in its application, that "when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard His parables [this and the preceding], they understood that He spake of them."[d] 4. The marriage feast, the first-invited guests to which were rejected in favour of the poor from the waysides,—no bad image of the despised Gentiles.[e] The parables of ten virgins, five of whom were rejected, and of the ten talents, were indeed addressed to the disciples privately; but both, and the latter in particular, will apply to the purpose above intimated,—the rejection of those who had neglected profitably to use the advantages committed to them.[f] And of such, the principal were most certainly the Jews. It can hardly be doubted that all these parables were purposely selected out of the many which Christ spake, to prove St. Matthew's particular point. They

[b] xx. 1. [c] xxi. 28. [d] Ib. 45.
[e] xxii. 2. [f] xxv. 1, 14.

become, as it were, the key to his whole Gospel; and when we look also at the very discourse with the disciples in which the two last-mentioned parables occur, and see that its whole subject is the destruction of Jerusalem, and when farther we compare the detail with which the Evangelist gives our Lord's noble and vehement declamation against the hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees, in his twenty-third chapter, and his full record of the Sermon on the Mount, in which the Jewish moral law is superseded, and the modern deformations of it are swept away, like cobwebs, from the sanctuary, we find that St. Matthew's Gospel bears intrinsic evidence of having been written with the view of proclaiming, to his countrymen, the overthrow of Judaism.

But while this scope may be discovered in the special parables which he has preserved for us, these no less belong, in many of their features, to the Church, and, in those parts, could not have been fully understood by the Jews. To take one example: the parable of the marriage feast clearly enough told the Pharisees, that they had refused the invitation to God's banquet, and that those whom they heartily despised and hated, had been called in their place. But what follows after is not for them. The man of the second party, who appears unrobed for the feast, and is cast forth, represents one already a Christian, unworthy of his profession, who is to be no less punished than they. How could they see the force of this declaration? It is for us. But then, in the eyes of the Christian, the whole scene changes. The parable represents to him the Church or kingdom of God, not in its wider and external aspect, but in that which belongs to the children alone of the Kingdom. The Jewish view can only reach the outer wall which

shuts it out. The Church within shows to us, not a system of dry faith and precepts, but a banqueting-hall, full of domestic joy and peace, and wherein God hath spread out a table ever furnished. Interior unity, the being one house, one family, one body, symbolizes itself in this form. The kingdom of God is to us a feast—nay, *the* feast; and we can no more realize the thought of practical warm religion, in disconnection with the eucharistic banquet and sacrifice, than we can think of home without a hearth, or of a family without a common table. The Church is not merely a teaching, but a feasting-place: not a lecture-room, but a banqueting-hall. And which Church exclusively is this? Enter the Catholic church (the type of the Church in the abstract), and you find not only always a table, but, if one may speak in so homely a way, a table with the cloth spread, which tells you that to-day there has been already a feast, and to-morrow there will be another, and the day after, as there was yesterday. If a Catholic found it otherwise, if he saw the altar uncovered and naked, and its furniture removed, and its tabernacle, in which the feast lies ever prepared, open and empty, he would conclude at once that the place was not in use; that, in fact, it is not actually used as *a Church:* he cannot dissociate the two—the Church and the feast. Where else is this to be found? In the meeting-house, we trow, the pulpit reminds one not of feasts. And in an establishment-church, though the piscina may have been restored, and two new oak carved chairs may be beside the communion-table, *this* is but as a piece of furniture covered up when the family is from home. Nor can we believe, that in the mind of an average churchman, there is any obvious and natural connection between his religion and the

communion-table; nor that, by any instinctive association, does he think of the latter, when he speaks of "going to church." No one, we again repeat, can fully realize this parable but a Catholic. For, as our Saviour spake it to the Jews, of His kingdom, consequently of the Church, it is to this it must be applied. But when applied as by a Catholic heart it necessarily is, every part is coherent, the figure is perfect, and the details full of beauty and instruction. It associates two ideas, those of the Church and of the Eucharist, which, in him alone, are almost correlative. And thus only is the problem solved, how wonderfully a parable spoken of the one can so beautifully apply to the other.

St. Mark agrees with St. Matthew in this, as in other respects, and therefore does not call for any particular remark here. But when we come to study St. Luke, we find, through his parables, a different purpose and scope in his Gospel. He is not engaged with the Jews, nor endeavouring to root out their prejudices, and prove to the converts from them, that their religion and state have passed away. He writes for the Greek or the Hellenist converts, for those who have less difficulty on that point; and therefore his object is, to place before them the high standard morality of Christ, and exhibit the beauty of His religion, by its influence on the character and nature of man. With St. Matthew, he has parables in common; as the sower, the hundred sheep, the vineyard and husbandmen, and the marriage feast. The parables of the mustard-seed, and leaven, also he has, but not as in a series relating to the Church.[g] But the following beautiful parables are exclusively his: 1. The good Samaritan;[h] 2. the Prodigal child;[i] 3. the unjust Stew-

[g] Luke xiii. [h] Ib. x. 30. [i] Ib. xv. 11.

ard;[j] 4. Dives and Lazarus;[k] 5. the Pharisee and the Publican;[l] 6. and that short, but most sweet of parables, of the two servants forgiven by their master, and proportioning their love to his kindness, His pleading for Mary Magdalen to the Pharisee.[m] And it must be observed, that many of these are not spoken in answer to questions, but are direct and spontaneous emanations of the divine wisdom in Jesus Christ; consequently, must be considered as intended to convey great and complete lessons. In fact, if we attentively consider them, in the order in which we have enumerated them, we shall find them to contain the whole theory of the following practical points:—1. Active fraternal charity in its perfection; 2. the whole history of the sinner's fall, return, and forgiveness; 3. the duty of alms-deeds, and its motives; 4. the vital and fundamental principle of man's end, and of the use and worth of creatures; and the consequences of rightly or wrongly acting on that principle:[n] 5. the complete doctrine of prayer;[o] and 6. the true character and motives of repentance, and the right principle of forgiveness and justification.

Before we enter into any details on any of these points, we must observe that still these parables refer to the visible and practical duties and morality in the Church. They represent courses of action, principles embodied in practice: they include the inward animating motives, or impulses of grace that guide them, as descriptions of the actions of the body suppose corresponding wishes, or thoughts, of the soul within.

[j] Luke xvi. [k] Ib. 19. [l] Ib. xviii. 10. [m] Ib. vii. 40.

[n] The entire principle of St. Ignatius's *Exercises* is to be found in this parable.

[o] With the parable immediately preceding it, of the unjust judge, overcome by the widow's importunity (v. 2).

To another evangelist belongs the higher office of describing the direct and invisible influences of grace. But these parables, in general, contain new principles of action, and describe a course of proceeding which could not be understood fully in the old dispensation, and have reference to what was to be developed in the new. And although some of them, as referring to moral duties, may appear as applicable in one form of Christianity as in another, yet it is not so. There is hardly one of them which does not contain an idea incompatible with Protestantism. For example, the publican standing "afar off" in his prayer in the temple:—From what is he afar off? The Catholic says at once, "From the altar, of course, at the very bottom of the Church;" and, if better instructed, he will add, "and where, in accordance with this feeling, the early Church put penitents, and penitential pilgrims would now kneel." The Protestant would say, "The parable has reference to the temple, and not to a Christian Church." Then which *realizes* the parable? But if he thinks it may be applied to our times so materially, being a high-churchman; we ask,—*Do* penitents in his church stand, through reverence, far away from the altar on a common day? Is that natural to them? It is to us. And why? Because the Catholic has, more than in the temple, a Holy of Holies on his altar, in the Blessed Eucharist: while the Protestant communion-table, when it has reached its highest aim, bears only a cross and a pair of candlesticks; the emblems at most, one of a possible image, the others of a suppressed or prevented light. Again, the parable of the unjust steward contains the idea of intercession by those in heaven: evade it, and you destroy its completeness. The parable in favour of Mary Magdalen is expressly directed to prove, that

love, and not mere faith, is the groundwork of contrition; and it shows the merit and value of outward acts exhibiting sorrow, and the wish for pardon, tears, penance, satisfaction, all approved of; as well as an outward declaration of pardon.

The parable of the prodigal would require more space than we can give it: but we do not hesitate to say, that its beauties cannot be fully seen, except by a Catholic eye. Who but a Catholic can trace the exact parallel between the father's house, and the religious child's home in the Church? Who but one familiar with the tale of many sinners, opening their hearts to him, can track every step of others' wanderings; can thus tell to many a startled hearer his own sad history, or rather tell the prodigal's, so as that it shall be a mirror before him, and make him taste his own heart as bitter as the acorn? And if we have thus roused him to return towards his early home, where, out of the Church, is to be found the warm embrace, the self-accusation made indeed, but almost stifled in the caresses of forgiveness? Where the robe of grace, the ring of filial adoption, the shoes of strengthening encouragement? Where, above all, the feast of joy, not merely of refreshment, prepared to welcome him? Is all this minute, and most natural, and most cheering detail, but superfluous dressing out of a most simple idea, that by an inward act, there was sudden conviction of sin, and a sense of forgiveness? Or does it signify that, still inwardly, a man repented him of his ways, and perhaps shed silent tears over the past, and resolved amendment: or perhaps even applied to himself the general absolution in the morning service: or if he went to his rector and told him what he felt, and had determined, was told, "he was glad to hear it, and hoped there would now be less poaching in the

neighbourhood." But trifling apart, there is not a parish priest, nor a missionary, nor a spiritual director, who could not give twenty cases of conversion in which the parallel with the prodigal's history is most complete: and there is not a penitent in the Church who could not say, that from his first departure from virtue to the communion that crowned his conversion, he had seen and felt, in acts, and sensible ministrations, and their effects, all that is so minutely described by our Lord.

But while we have thus claimed for the Catholic Church alone the power fully to appreciate our divine Lord's parables, by entirely realizing them, we have, we trust, prepared the ground for another conclusion. It may be observed, that truth presents us ever with two classes of evidence. The first consists of the great and direct proofs on which it rests; the second, of those innumerable and unprepared convergences of argument that meet in it from various points. The former will bring us to the truth; but the latter often more sensibly secure our conviction. The one is as the trunk of the plant, the other as the suckers and tendrils, which lay hold on every side of various and effectual support, and will often prevent the plant from being overthrown by a sudden gust. Now we think that even so slight and superficial a view, as we have here had an opportunity of presenting, of the parables, may contribute somewhat towards these minor evidences, in favour of our faith.

For surely, it must afford our minds considerable satisfaction, to find how, in our own religion, and in no other, this part of our Saviour's teaching is fully carried out. It has been by other means that we have been brought to a distinct conception and belief of dogma: by the plain texts of the Old and New Testa-

ments, by the teaching of our Redeemer, and that of His apostles: by the concurring testimony of antiquity, and the living voice of the Church. When from all these a system has resulted, of the Church, its government, its characters, its duties, its sacraments, its connection with the world and with time, boldly clear, and definite; and when, taking this more obscure part of our Lord's instructions, and analyzing it, we find it fit this view exclusively and in every part, we must conclude that they were made for one another,—this Church and the series of parables, and that both come from one hand. It is like experiments in magnetism coming to corroborate the Newtonian theory.

But there is a higher thought to which these our poor inquiries have led us: and we trust it will not be deemed presumptuous. Our blessed Lord speaks His parables off-hand, if we may reverently use the word; with reference often to passing demands on His instruction. Even they who have impiously pretended that the whole Gospel was an after-thought, and the composition of disciples in early ages, must admit at least, that the record of these parables is far anterior to the age when Catholicity (according to them) took its present development. How then account for the coincidence of the two in every part? Let us observe that the marvellous structure of Christianity was from its foundations without a formal plan: its laws were embodied in no stiff code; its government was not defined in one formal decree; its doctrines were not compressed into a symbol; and its precepts and maxims were not extended into a treatise. Nor were men chosen to raise the edifice, who, from scattered materials, were likely to compile a beautiful and perfect whole. Yet this was the result.

Stone joined itself to stone, as if by instinct, or mutual attraction; the whole building stood, as if by magic, weather-tight, massive, solid, yet regular, rich, and magnificent. Government, law, faith, morals, discipline, all were found to have been provided for; and as it grew, and extended on every side, ample provision appeared to have been made for its increase, in regard both of plan and of materials. And so it expanded still, until some thought that it had outgrown its measure, and original design. In all this, who does not see proof of a divine wisdom that designed and superintended the work? But let us suppose even, that our Lord left, as some would say, the details of the system to natural causes and the working of time; that He merely put together the main lines, and allowed them to be filled up; or that even, upon a Protestant theory, the corruptions and superstitions of ages have shaped the Catholic Church as it now is —still, in every hypothesis, the fact is the same, and will go far to overthrow the erroneous supposition. Whatever led to the Church's present organization and development, it is plain that Christ's parables, that have reference to it, or his workings, fit exactly to it, as it is. Call confession an abuse, a mistake, or what you like, there is nothing else on earth that will make the close of the prodigal's history look like a lesson or a home-truth. Then our Saviour foresaw all this, and provided for it its rules and principles; and He who could cast into the world but the rudimental forms of a religion, and yet throw out, in a mysterious form, what would describe its state, and regulate its institutions, after a thousand years, and more, of vicissitudes, could be only what He claimed to be, the Lawgiver himself, the supreme Author of the new Law, the incarnate Word of God. And that system

with which His prophetic teaching so approvingly accords, can be no delusion, or corruption of men.

Still further to bring out this argument, let us remark the immensely superior position which He takes, compared on the one side with the prophets, and, on the other, with the apostles. The prophet who deals most largely in parables, partly spoken, and partly acted, is undoubtedly Ezechiel. But he, like all the other prophets, never presumes to deliver one as from himself. It is always a command from God, both parable and application. On the other hand, the apostles in their writings constantly appeal to their having been taught, having received their doctrine. They also make use of phrases of exhortation; and give advice. Now our Redeemer always speaks the parable as His own, and gives us His own, and no other, authority. Yet these parables contain modifications of the old law, declare the rejection of the Jews, or rather pronounce sentence of it, give the terms of forgiveness from God, define the duties of the new religion, promulgate the new law; and often, as if to contrast with the prophetic declaration of dependence, "thus saith the Lord," these definite declarations are supported by "Amen, *I* say to you." Considering that the *nearer* one comes to God, and the greater consequently perfection, the stronger will be the sense of dependence, and the humble consciousness of the honour of such service; as Raphael with Tobias,[p] Gabriel with Mary,[q] the angel with St. John,[r] more explicitly even than the prophets, declared themselves only messengers of God, we cannot admit even one step of separation between the Divinity and Him who "thought it not robbery to be equal to God."[s]

[p] Tob. xii. 18.
[q] Luke i. 28.
[r] Apoc. xix. 10; xxii. 9.
[s] *Philip.* ii. 6.

And as to the second comparison, it must certainly be considered remarkable, that not once throughout the Gospels is the word "exhort" used, except once in St. Luke, of the preaching of St. John.[t] And this is to be the more noticed, as it is a word of frequent use by the same evangelist, in his Acts of the Apostles. Our Lord always commands, and leaves no alternative but obedience. He gives not advice, which supposes only partial knowledge; but He enjoins one, and only one, course. And this it was which really constituted, as we before hinted, our Lord's teaching "with power;" that is, as having dominion over the law itself, as possessed of inherent and rightful jurisdiction.

We fear we shall be considered to have indulged in a long digression; and, in truth, we must beg our reader to carry his memory back to where we enumerated, and commented briefly on, the parables in St. Luke. We there did not make any remarks upon undoubtedly the most perfect in structure, and the most beautiful in substance, of all the parables, unless that of the prodigal may dispute equality. We allude to that of the good Samaritan. We then purposely omitted any remarks on it, because we reserved it for this place. It will better illustrate all that we wish to convey, respecting the application of parables, than any observations of ours can do it. If we have not already exhausted our reader's patience, we will request him to follow us into some detail.

1. Let him read the parable as in St. Luke's tenth chapter; and that will save him, and us, the task of a narration. But we may be allowed, in a few words, to point out some circumstances which, to the hearers, must have invested it with additional interest. Our Lord lays the scene of it between Jerusalem and

[t] Luke iii. 18.

Jericho. Now the latter name does not signify the moon, as some tell us, but alludes to the sweet odour of the balsam-plant, there chiefly cultivated. The Arabic name, at this day, *Rihha*, confirms this derivation. Considerable intercourse existed in consequence, between it and the capital, distant a day's journey. But our Saviour placed the scene of the parable on the road between them, because it was notorious for being infested with robbers. It is as if one, writing in the last century, had put it on Hounslow-heath. The robbers of Palestine have always been the same;—armed bands of desperate men, or tribes of Bedouins,[u] who are prepared for any violence, even where there is no resistance. One who heard our Lord deliver His parable, and who knew the road, would have the spot, at once, before his mind's eye. It was just between seven and eight miles from Jerusalem. It is the critical spot now, as it was then, for the East changes but little. In St. Jerome's time it was the same; and the very name, which the place bore, indicated its character. It was called, he tells us, *Maledommim*,[x] that is, "the assault or rising up of the Idumeans," to which nation possibly many of these marauders belonged. Where the mode of travelling does not change, the length of a day's journey, and the distances for repose remain almost unvaried. Hence inns will be found for whole centuries on the same

[u] St. Jerome, on Jer. iii. 2, observes, that by the robbers in the wilderness, there mentioned, "may be understood the Arabs, which nation, given to marauding, yet infests the boundaries of Palestine, and besets the roads leading from Jerusalem to Jericho."

[x] מעלה אדומים St. Jerome, after Eusebius, translates it by *ἀνάβασις πυῤῥῶν*, understanding by the second word, men *red* with blood. (*De Situ et Nom. Loc. Heb.*) At a later period a station of soldiers was placed near, to protect travellers. See also on the insecurity of this neighbourhood, Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 5.

spot. In Italy this is certainly the case, as it was in old times in England. And in the East, where changes happen so much less than in Europe, it will be still more so. The pace of the ass or the camel has not varied; and they are still the beasts of travel. At the present time there is, or there was, not many years ago, a khan or inn, not far from the spot thus indicated in the parable. And so faithful has tradition been, and so deeply has our Saviour's beautiful lesson impressed itself on "the very ground, that this hostelry is known by the name of the khan of the good Samaritan."[y] But there are two more reasons for the choice of this place. The first is, that Jericho, after Jerusalem, was the great station of the priests and Levites, who came in turns to Jerusalem, to serve the temple. The body of the priests, the Jewish writers tell us, was divided into twenty-four classes, twelve of which were stationed at Jericho. Each class comprehended Levites.[z] It would, therefore, be most natural, that men of this profession, not usually great travellers, should be found on that road. And on the day when a priest had to pass from one city to the other, it is most probable that a Levite likewise entered on, or left, duty; and travelled at a respectful distance from his superior, but near enough to have the protection of his escort or retinue. Hence the priest passes first, and then the Levite; contrary to the order in which, to show their inefficiency, we might have expected them to come on the stage. The second reason for the choice of place is, that Jericho is on the way from Samaria to Jerusalem, not straight across, but according to the line of public roads. Business,

[y] Mariti, Viaggi per l' Isola di Cipro, e per la Soria, e Palestina, vol. iii. cap. 6.

[z] Talm. H. Taanith, fol. 27.

therefore, may have brought a Samaritan on that road, perhaps the only one in all Judea.

We can easily imagine how graphic and vivid the parable, *improvised* so completely in answer to a petulant question, "who is my neighbour?" must have sounded to persons, who at once caught the propriety and nice fit of every minute circumstance in its recital. But every other detail is the same. A traveller on horseback and alone, would not be likely, amongst us, to have in his scanty baggage, salves and medicines; but fortunately in the east, what was provision for food, was considered the best dressing for wounds and bruises. The inns of Asia furnish nothing but shelter; the traveller must take care to bring his own provisions; two of the most indispensable were oil for condiment, and wine for drink. The Samaritan came from the country where both were of the best quality,—in the land of Samaria the one,[a] and on the seacoast, from Carmel to Saron, the other. He was likely, therefore, to have brought his flask of each, for his own use. Now wine and oil were a common medicament with the Jews. We will quote their words, because they will show how justly, on other occasions, our Saviour declaimed against their absurd splitting of hairs, and sabbatarian uncharitableness. "An old tradition hath, it is not lawful, for the sake of a sick man, to mingle oil and wine together on the sabbath day." Again, "They spread a plaster for a sick man on the Sabbath. When? when they mix it up with wine and oil on the eve of the Sabbath.* But if they did not mix it on the eve, it is forbidden."[b] What wonder, that the men who thought it better to

[a] "Oleum.....pretiosissimum missum est ab Ephraim, cujus terra Samaria olei feracissima est."—S. Hieron. in Os. xii. 1.

[b] Shabbat, fol. 134, Berachoth. fol. 3, ap. Wetst. *in loc.*

let a sick man die, than prepare his medicine on a Sabbath, should easily have found excuses for not taking one up on the roadside? The circumstance, therefore, of the Samaritan's dressing the poor traveller's wounds, is quite natural, and the ingredients of his application are necessarily with him.

The last point to which we will advert, is one which often spoils the recital of the parable. The Samaritan is said, upon delivering his charge to the host, "to take out twopence," and give them with these words: "Take care of him, and whatsoever thou shalt spend over and above, I, at my return, will repay thee" (v. 35). This seems to us but a paltry sum, and certainly if one made such an offer as this sounds to us, at the Star and Garter, or even a small roadside inn, it would be looked at with amazement. But the fault lies in the translation. Unfortunately a *denarius* has got translated *penny*: but without going into any learned discussion on its value, it is sufficient for us to say that it was a man's good wages for a day's work at that time. For, the labourers in the vineyard were satisfied with it for the whole day, till they saw that the same was given to those that entered at the eleventh hour.[c] The sum given was therefore

[c] Matt. xx. 13. In the Apocalypse, famine prices are thus given:— "Two pounds of wheat for a penny (a *denarius*), and thrice two pounds of barley for a penny" (vi. 6). We may remark that the difference of price between wheat and barley, as here given, is as one to three: whereas in the famine in Samaria the proportions were one to two. (4 Reg. vii. 1.) It is difficult to adjust the proportions of measures and values at different times, because coins and measures vary. The following varieties appear incredible; but we give them to show how much could be done, at times, for a *penny*. In the Chronicle of Josue Stylites we learn that, at Edessa, in 495, thirty bushels of wheat, and fifty of barley, could be purchased for a *denarius*. (Assem. Bib. Or. tom. i. p. 261.) Later, the prices were

enough to keep the patient two days; and when we consider that the Samaritan was only seven miles from Jerusalem, to which he was going,[d] and might be returning in the course of next day, we shall not be surprised at the amount of the advance.

2. This parable, then, in its *materiality* is perfect; every part is most exact. And what a variety of important lessons it contains. First it effectually answers the impertinent question proposed, "Who is my neighbour?" Secondly, it conveys a most mild, but tremendous, rebuke to the proud interrogator: for it tells him that a Samaritan knew better the meaning of a precept of law than a Jewish doctor. Thirdly, it gives a lesson of practical charity, without reference to creed or nation; a doctrine totally at variance with that principle, which dispenses charity to the perishing by hunger and disease, only on condition of their renouncing their faith.

3. But who has ever read this parable, and not recognised in it the history of the world, and understood that Jesus Christ was the Good Samaritan described in it? Now this is in fact the grand aspect of this splendid composition. It would be impossible in fewer words to make a sketch of the whole history of man from his fall, to his complete regeneration and preservation. It is masterly in every way, the strokes

four of wheat and six of barley (p. 271), and immediately prices fell again, and were, twelve measures of wheat and twenty-two of barley for a *denarius* (p. 272).

[d] This appears from the difference of the expressions; the priest and Levite were going "the same way" as the traveller (*vv. 30, 31*), while the Samaritan is "on his journey" (v. 33), and speaks of returning, which intimates going *from* home, consequently towards Jerusalem. The image is thus most happy; the priest is one who walks in the same direction as the wounded man, of the same country and religion; the Samaritan is one who goes opposite to them.

few, the masses simple and grand, and yet detailed so as to give them definiteness and character. Could man's fall be more accurately pictured than by a traveller (the *homo viator* of the schools) assailed by an enemy, robbed of everything, wounded all over, naked, half-dead, helpless, unable to move? And now comes the priest, the type of every system of previous religion,—of Noah's, Melchisedec's; nay, of Egypt's, India's, Greece's, false worship. They all recognised in man, the bruised and fallen type of a better state: but they neither cured nor raised him. Then follows the Levite, a title which specifies what before was generic; the law and priesthood of the Old Testament, still better informed of man's history, but as unable to succour him. At length comes the Samaritan, the stranger to man's race. Thus far an intelligent Jew might follow: but beyond this he would be at fault. Recognising in Christ this character, he would ask, How does *He* intend to bind those wounds? What oil and wine has He that will stanch the bleeding gashes of humanity? How will he bear the burthen on His shoulders, of that prostrate frame of a whole gasping race? Was it possible for the most learned to solve this problem? Not till fulfilment had taken place of those awful realities, which were to give as truthful a counterpart of this portion of the parable, as existed in the other parts; and not even then, till the full system of the atonement was preached to him, and he understood that by *His* wounds ours were healed, and that He verily bore the iniquities of us all. And thus much further, though not completely, can the Protestant pursue the parable; but not beyond this. We say not completely, for the sacramental nature of the remedies escapes him. The wine he will know; but what is the oil,

which has ceased to have all meaning in the Protestant system? It anoints him not, regenerated, into part with a kingly priesthood; nor, a stripling descending into the lists, to do battle with unearthly foes; nor a priest into an inviolable consecration; nor a worn-out pilgrim for his last wrestling with the giant Despair. With him it has no symbolism; it represents not to him the light of God's sanctuary, nor the *unction* of His word, nor the balmy softness (the *oleum effusum*) of two Names most sweet in Catholic mouths. It rises not to his mind with the thought of virginity, anointed with the oil of gladness above its fellow-orders of holiness. It lingers not, as a holy seal, upon the stones of his altar, after ages of desecration in the wall of the old church, to tell whose once it was. It has vanished from his system, and together with it all uplifting of the priestly hand to bless. Consecration of man or thing he has lost, and knows no more. But oil, the emblem of all consecration, and of sacramental grace, and wine, the purest symbol of the saving stream of life, and of its sacramental in-pouring into man, form to the Catholic mind, the most apt imaginable representation of the communication, to his wounded nature, of new health, new vigour, new life.

But as we before observed, but one step beyond the Jew's apprehension of this parable, Protestantism stops. Man, rescued from total death, is, according to strict Protestant doctrine, left to himself, and to his own judgment, to make the best of his way home. The good Samaritan leaves no vicarious authority on earth, to whom He fully and unreservedly commits the charge of him, and who has to carry out his work. The cure was complete when he had touched, and there was no one to bind up anew the sores, should

they re-open, or to supply refreshment if the patient should faint. But the Catholic sees here to the end, every part fulfilled. The good Samaritan has gone on in His journey, and is not yet returned: we wait His coming at the end of ages. And man, though the death-wound is healed, and life secured, remains still but a weak and sickly creature, and has no food of his own, and no remedy, but what that compassionate stranger has left behind. But he has left it and him in good and faithful hands. Still requiring support, still in the pupilage of an impaired mind, still with the plague of recrudescent wounds, he feels with thankfulness that, till his best friend comes again to lead him home, he has been committed to those that have received the strictest charge to give a good account of him, and have been amply provided with present means, and secured by ampler promises for any outlay. A hostelry indeed it is — that stately Church of Christ—that Khan of the Good Samaritan —for there is no lasting dwelling, no home for any one, this way to Jerusalem. Only pilgrims travel it. But how just a type: a house which is not our home, where we are only wayfarers seeking an enduring city, yet where we find rest, food, comfort, medicine, strength, at the sole charge of Him who has snatched us from destruction, and healed our wounds. Not from some one chance inmate of the house, who is but a servant there for a time, but from *the house* itself; always the same, whoever rules it; always the same, and the same to all. Surely no Church but the Catholic inspires her children with the feeling, that they are under this particular and certain care. It is the very contradictory of the theory of private judgment.

4. And now let us see where the practical lesson of

the parable is understood, and followed. Is it in poor-law relief, or in charitable associations, and mendicity societies, or in tract-distributing, domiciliary visits? Surely not. We have heard of a charitable society in London, called a "Samaritan Society;" which, a short time ago, busied itself very laudably with furnishing the dwellings of the poor with Arnold's ventilators. Very properly, certainly; but not very appropriately for their name. Noah's opening the window at the top of the ark, when the deluge was over, would have been a fitter symbol for this peculiar operation of charity. But go to the *Caridad* at Seville, and see that painting by Murillo, of one, not tricked out in ideal beauty, but humble, earnest, and busy with his toil—the bearing of a sinking, helpless, body to the hospital: with an angel at his side, that seems as if he felt honoured in supporting him. That is a Catholic Samaritan—St. John of God. Or see him at Grenada, amidst the blazing hospital, lifting and carrying into safety, one by one, its numerous patients. Go to the frozen wilderness of Mount St. Bernard, and visit those men who have chosen it for their dreary abode, solely that they may be able to rescue the perishing traveller from the snow-wreath, or the precipice, and bear him to their house for Christ's sake, and warm, and restore him. Aye, and they have even, in the ingenuity of their charity, engrafted their Samaritan spirit upon canine instincts; and have taught their mute, faithful allies, to wander forth in the dark night and listen, amidst the howling blast, for the wail of the lost traveller; and having found him, warm him with their breath, and refresh him with their ready store, and lead, or even if young, bear him, with wagging tail and glistening eye, as a prize beyond the hare or the partridge. Go to every quarter of the

globe, and see the sister of charity, serving the sick and the wounded with her own hands, and hushing the old veteran that moans in his pain, as though he were an infant, and soothing more suffering by the gentle speech of her lips, or the crucifix in her hand, than surgeon's skill or apothecary's ointment can ever do. These are the copies of the good Samaritan, which the Catholic Church exhibits, without going back to those ages, when charity itself imbibed the knightly spirit, and the hospitaller of St. John was not more ready to strike home for Christ's sepulchre, than to bear his vanquished foe to the ready ward, and there nurse him like a brother; and without recurring to that more recent exhibition of the same spirit, when the ransomer, with our Lord's cross upon his breast, gave himself in pledge, or in exchange, for the captive slave in Barbary.

5. And now it is time to ask, what manner of wisdom that was, which indited so perfect, so grand, and so sweet a lesson? The most practised philosopher could not have struck off, in a moment, a more complete summary of the moral history of the human race, or a truer picture of man's fallen condition. Nor can we imagine any man, however gifted, presuming to speculate on the effects of his own death upon the whole world; and to put himself forward as destined to regenerate it by ignominious suffering. And still less could any man have darted his eye so deeply into futurity, as to sketch out accurately a system resulting from that event, as it would remain after hundreds of years, for carrying out and applying the fruits of his sacrifice. In the few lines which record this parable, we have a strong and irrefragable proof of our Lord's divine character.

We must, however, hasten to a conclusion. We

have endeavoured to show that St. Matthew's parables are chosen in accordance with his natural purpose in writing for the Jews,—that of showing them that the old law had given place to, or had been absorbed in, the new: and that St. Luke's are addressed more towards forming the moral character of the Church already established. Both direct their records towards the outward mould of the Church, and her exterior offices: towards the Church, that is, as symbolizing our Lord's Sacred Humanity. The Gospel of St. John presents a different character. The Church is now fully formed, and the walls have been built all round her, which separate God's vineyard from profane ground. The first sprouting of error makes its appearance among the chosen plants. A gospel is wanted for the interior of the house, for those to whom Jesus would not speak in parables.

This difference between St. John's Gospel and the other three, may not have struck every reader. But it is remarkable that in St. John there are only three passages approaching to parables,[e] which yet essentially differ from those of the other gospels. For the three instances are those in which our Lord compares Himself to a door, and a vine;[f] and where He describes Himself as the Good Shepherd.[g] In no other parable is He one term of the comparison: and we may say, without danger of error, that these three comparisons of Himself to other objects ought hardly

[e] Unless we reckon the passage in iv. 35, pointing out the fields as white for the harvest, which is rather an illustration than a parable.

[f] John x. 1; xv. 1. In the first of these our Lord first makes a parable, but immediately applies it to Himself. The second was addressed to the apostles alone.

[g] x. 11.

to be called parables. At any rate they form a separate class. Now what makes this peculiarity of St. John more striking is, that he clearly intimates to us that our Saviour's habitual teaching was in parables. After His last supper He says to His apostles, "These things I have spoken to you in proverbs. The hour cometh when I will no more speak to you in proverbs."[h] And the apostles soon after reply to Him, "Behold now Thou speakest plainly, and speakest no proverb."[i] These passages express that our Lord's habitual teaching had been proverbial, or in parables; and yet, had St. John's Gospel alone been written, we should not have discovered this. They prove to us, therefore, that St. John supposed, or knew, other records to be in the hands of his readers, from which the nature and truth of this allusion would be manifest. These texts refer more to the other Gospels than to his own: and they form one of those delicate connecting links, which associate the four Gospels, as forming one record.

We may naturally ask, why did St. John select those discourses of Christ, which were free from parables? If we might venture to answer without presumption, it is because our Saviour Himself divided His teaching into two portions. So long as He treated of the Church, its duties and its vicissitudes, in other words, so long as He spoke of what was to be external, and one day historical, but, when He spoke, had only existence in prophecy, He employed what we have seen to compose the prophetic element of the New Testament,—parabolic teaching. But when He spoke of what already *was*, HIMSELF, His own existence previous even to Abraham, His coequality with the Father, His own Divinity, He shunned all parable,

[h] John xvi. 25. [i] Ib. 29.

and spoke plainly and distinctly. St. John's office was to treasure up this second series of instructions, for the confutation of nascent errors, and the orthodox teaching of the whole Church.

Hence, wherever he touches upon a matter already treated in the other Gospels, we shall find that, while they record for us what relates to its external forms or administration, that is, its body, St. John only preserves the discourse which describes its interior and more spiritual functions, that is, its soul. For instance, St. Matthew had fully preserved for us the institution of Baptism, and its form: St. John manifests to us in the conversation with Nicodemus, the invisible agency of the Holy Spirit, and the inward regeneration by the outward action.[k] Again the three first evangelists had carefully described the institution of the B. Eucharist; St. John passes over this, but has secured to us that invaluable discourse in his sixth chapter, in which the union with Christ, the immortality, and the inward life bestowed by that holiest of sacraments, are so consolingly described. St. John's office, then, seems to be, to manifest to us what our Redeemer taught, respecting that mysterious action which in His Divine nature He exercises upon the inward life of the Church, and on the soul of the believer, but still ever in the Church, and through the Church.

But this has led us beyond the region of parables, and though we would gladly dilate on it, we must pause. It was our desire to add some remarks upon our Saviour's miracles, as illustrative of His teaching, and of Catholic doctrine; but we have already exceeded reasonable limits. We may therefore reserve our thoughts for another occasion, when we hope not to tax our reader's

[k] *Matt. xxviii. 19; John iii.*

patience so severely. For we must own, that we can only compare ourselves to a poor beast of burthen, which, driven day by day on a long dusty road, cannot resist the temptation of turning into a green field, that lies open on the side; and there rioting somewhat on the dainty food around it, and striving to recall the thoughts and feelings of other days, and live them over again. We have heard that some find a joy in seeing wealth in heaps around them; we have seen the satisfaction of the man of taste when luxuriating amidst objects of art; we have felt the delight of living among the records of wisdom of past ages or distant lands; but far, far brighter and happier are hours spent in this treasure-house of knowledge, this rich collection of peerless gems, this library of heaven-fetched, eternal wisdom—the speakings of God to man. If we have ventured in, and may seem to have presumptuously ransacked it, it has only been because encouraged to look in this storehouse of the wise Householder for old things and new; the first to be discovered by earnest study, the latter only by humble and sincere meditation.

THE

MIRACLES

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for Dec.* 1839.

THE

MIRACLES

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT,

AS ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

WE proceed, in fulfilment of a promise which closed our last essay,[a] to unfold our thoughts on a subject which cannot fail to interest every reader of the Gospel, —the Miracles of our Lord.

But before entering upon it, we beg for a few moments' grace, while we indulge in some preliminary remarks. In opening our paper on the "Parables," we briefly approved of the critical study of Scripture, and expressed regret, that it was not more cultivated amongst us. In a notice of that paper, in a Catholic periodical, its writer remarked: "We do not agree in all the propositions laid down as to the value and advantages of biblical criticism ourselves." So slight a comment, so passing an observation, so modest an expression of difference of opinion, could never have elicited a word from us, unaccustomed as we are to notice reviews upon our reviews, did it not appear to us to indicate, what we have seen more strongly expressed elsewhere without reference to us;—a tendency to depreciate biblical studies, and the theo-

[a] Page 163.

logical use of holy Scripture. That persons who have witnessed, during a great part of their lives, the sad and fatal abuse of God's word — who have seen it become a snare to the feet, a veil to the eyes, a cloak to hypocrisy, a seed-bed to heresies, and a very excuse for sin:—that men who have seen havoc come to souls from its misapplication, and ruin to conscience from its distortion, — who have heard every key of the sacred instrument jangling and jarring in distracting dissonance, as at once bravely thumped by the evangelical, and timidly stolen over by the churchman: that they, in fine, who have themselves perhaps lived for a time entangled in the meshes of contradictory interpretation, and have now exclaimed, "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus," should look with distrust, and some dislike, on studies which tie men apparently to the killing letter, and quench the living Spirit, is perhaps natural, and as such pardonable. But there is danger in too violent a rebound; and we are truly and deeply anxious, that any extreme views, on so important a subject, should not be encouraged.

Let us for a moment consider this very critical study of God's word. No pursuit has been more abused: and we hope it is looking rather at the abuse than the use, that the writer alluded to tells us, that he does not agree with us, as to the value of that branch of learning. Eusebius, Origen, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, Alcuin, and many others, applied sedulously to it, and their labours have been highly prized by the Church of God. The Council of Trent, in ordering a new revision, and consequently a new *recension,* of the Vulgate to be made, commanded the severe critical pursuits necessary for this purpose.

But we are looking at the matter too seriously. There are two ways in which critics can justify their

disapprobation, in sweeping and general terms, of a pursuit. The one is by looking outwardly at its effects, and without taking the pains of fathoming it, making up their minds to its inutility. Even a very mild person might be led to pronounce that *conchology*, for instance, however pretty, is not a very useful science, because its influence on society, or letters, or individual character, and its results to mankind, nowhere appear. It is negatively condemned, if one may say so. But a great science, pursued by many great and good men, and, by them, brought to bear upon theology, and upon the preservation of God's word, cannot be so judged; and only they, we will confidently assert, have a right to pronounce, who can say that they have gone fully and thoroughly into it, and have discovered its hollowness. Now, unhesitatingly, we declare such a result to be impossible. No one can apply himself to the critical study of the Bible without finding it graceful, noble, sure to enhance his appreciation of the real beauties of the divine writings, certain to bring home to him many hidden treasures, and, at the same time, solid, convincing, based upon sure principles, and superadding the elegant and protecting structure of human research and skill, to the immovable and unshaking foundation on the rock of truth. It is like a bastion thrown out beyond an impregnable fortification; a breakwater outside the safe harbour, scooped in a craggy shore. Neither is necessary for security: but the one terrifies the assailant, and keeps him further from the walls; the other represses the unruly waves, that would fain agitate the haven's calmer waters. No part of biblical science has more thoroughly disappointed the unbeliever, and answered the Catholic's hopes, than the critical study of Scripture.

But probably it will sound strange to some, to hear us pronounce this to be a "graceful or noble" pursuit. Solid it may be; but what there is to captivate the mind, or win admiration, does not easily appear. We speak, then, of this study as catholicly followed; and as the great purpose of our whole paper is to prove how truly Catholics alone hold the sway of scriptural literature, we may be pardoned if we dwell a little longer on this point, and show how we have found this driest and least spiritual looking portion of biblical science, most savoury, sweet, and delightful. That the path to it is rugged, intricate, and often consequently wearisome, we will not gainsay; for the principle holds here, as elsewhere, that there is no royal road to knowledge. It requires patience to learn the technical part of the study, to become familiar with its peculiar phraseology, to unravel the intricacies of various systems, classifications, and recensions. Nor can this be attained without the further patience of learning perhaps more than one language, uncouth to the eye, rugged to the ear, and strange to the mind. Then there is a certain amount of practical skill in manipulation to be acquired, which is tedious at first, and requires perseverance. But when these preliminaries have been gone through, the science, even in itself, is interesting and delightful. When an uninitiated person gets an old biblical manuscript into his hands, "miratur pulchros apices," he turns it from end to end, admiring the regularity of the writing, or the preservation of the ink, and gives it back to the librarian, wondering somewhat of what real value such an old volume can be, or whether it may not possibly contain some new and strange reading (if he have heard of such things), which may puzzle critics or commentators. And then he

remains "oculis laudator, sed mente non cognitor." Now let the practical critic take it into *his* hand, and see with what confidence and intelligence he handles it. As surely as a *connoisseur* in art examining a picture, he knows how to explore it. The very crackle of the parchment speaks to him: if thin or thick, if polished or rough, if white or yellow, it gives him a mark, a datum for calculation. The colour of the ink, the retouching of faded letters, the corrections between lines, all tell *him* a tale. Then he inspects the letters, which, like troops in a review, wear the uniform of a country or age. He pries into their junctures and divisions, their punctuation and length of ranks or lines; he scans their straightness or their flexures, their lengths and breadths. He notes the letters on the margin at given intervals, which to the other appeared random marks, and from all these signs, he pronounces, at once, a confident judgment of the volume's age. Now for its country. He looks into the text, darts over a few lines, detects certain errors by substitutions of letters pronounced alike in some countries but not in others, and thus gets a first simple clue. Then with a few master glances, just like an expert leader at the bar, who, turning over folios of foolscap in his brief, catches with his eye just the recital which contains the pith of the bulky brief, and makes up his case, over which his junior has pored for hours; he turns familiarly to a few decisive texts, gives but one scrutinizing look, and, shutting the volume, tells you, not merely its country, but perhaps the very city or monastery in which it was written. As certainly as that picture-critic will distinguish the Spanish from the Flemish school, and even tell you whether your painting came from Andalusia or Estramadura, so

surely will the other tell you whether your manuscript was written in Egypt, or on Mount Athos. And of what use is this? Why, he knows, that if you were to read it carefully through, you could not find in it a single novelty; that by no possible combination of chances, could it contain a single word that could give the sceptic a new objection, any more than the discovery of any imaginable genuine sketch by Raphael, could possibly lead us to the conclusion that he was a bad draughtsman. But at present we are rather bent on proving that this critical study of the Bible is really a pleasant and gratifying pursuit. Let us take another example. Let us suppose that we wish to amuse ourselves with the origin of some outlandish translation. We will take, for instance, the Arabic version of the Psalms, published by Gabriel Sionita, at Rome, in 1614 and 1619,[b] and most beautifully printed. Be not startled, gentle reader; we are not going to give you a single hard word, or strange-looking character, as we did in our last article. We are not going to use any long technical terms. Follow us gently, and as it were tiptoe; and we will give you a little specimen of critical *clairvoyance*. Look into that cell. It is in an Eastern monastery, on the craggy side of Mount Libanus, with palm-trees shooting up slender around it, and waving their graceful heads to the evening breeze. All is still and calm; the chanting has ceased, and each pious recluse has slowly returned to his cell. Look again at the one we have chosen, rude and bare as it is. There, by the latticed window, thrown open to the setting sun, on his little square mat, sits, Arab fashion, a bearded monk, grave and furrowed with

[b] That is, the same text is reproduced at the latter date, with a new title.

lines of thought. At his left side is his inkstand with his reed-holder, passed behind the girdle like a dirk. In his left hand he holds his page of vellum on a slight board, in his right his ready cane pen: for he leans not his body nor his book on anything when he writes. He lives at a time when the sacred language of his country, the Syriac, is becoming less known even in religious houses, and an Arabic, or vernacular, version is required of the Psalms. He, being well skilled in languages, and a worthy man, has been ordered to make it, and is already plying his sacred task.

Now first, what is he translating from? On a low three-legged stool beside him, lies the open volume. What language is it? "How," you reply, "can I possibly see, at this distance of place and time?" Then I will tell you: it is a copy of the Septuagint, or ancient Greek version of the Bible. How do we know this? Every verse of his translation tells us so. For, while that version differs very remarkably from the Hebrew in its readings, his translation throughout keeps close to the former. Well, this is a very simple discovery. But we see that our good monk is not *very strong* in his Greek, for he keeps every now and then looking at another old volume, or rather roll beside him. It is clearly the Hebrew original, which being more akin to his own language, he can better master. He uses it, therefore, as another would a lexicon. Hence through his translation, when a hard and puzzling word comes in the Greek, we find him putting the very Hebrew word into his text, making quite a jumble of it. This tells us that he did not help himself out of another version already made from the Hebrew, but dealt freely with the original. But we have very curious proofs of this. We are now

watching him translate Ps. lxxvii. v. 74 (69 Heb. and Gr.). He has hit upon two curious deviations from both the Greek and the Hebrew. And yet we can very easily account for them; but only one way. If in two small words together, we imagine him to have mistaken, in one a *beth* for a *caph*, in the other a *caph* for a *beth* (the two *Hebrew* letters being very much alike), we get just his reading. And the same verse contains another certain proof, but too complex for our present purpose.[c]

See him now fairly nonplussed. He has got to Ps. xxxix. (Heb.) v. 9 (in LXX v. 6), and there he finds the two texts irreconcilably different. You may behold him, with his hands dropped before him on his knees, waving his body backwards and forwards, and gently stroking his beard, as Orientals do when they wish to convey electricity to their brains. And now a bright thought has struck him. He knows not which reading to prefer, so he will put them both in; and consequently he combines them, and gives us in his translation a double version, from the Greek and from the Hebrew.[d] Having discovered this notable expedient, he has recourse to it again in similar difficulties: for example in Ps. xlv. (Heb.) verses 13, 14, where he once more treats us to both texts. But this Psalm seems to have greatly perplexed him; for sometimes, as in a fit of desperation, he fairly takes his departure altogether from both his originals, and hazards a most unaccountable paraphrase of his own.[e] He however finds another remedy in his difficulties. There he gets up, and takes down from his small library, or rather out of his book-chest, another volume. How shall we make that out? Very easily: we can see it from here,

[c] See note (A) at the end of this paper.
[d] See note (B).
[e] See note (C).

as we peep over his shoulder. It is the Syriac *Peshito* version. He is engaged on Ps. xcvii. (Heb.), and at every verse he looks into this translation, and does not hesitate to be guided by it. Coincidences so curious occur, as to leave us no doubt of this.[f]

The good old translator may have pretended what he liked to his less learned brethren, and may have made them suppose that he was very fluent in Greek, and read it off like an Athenian: but he cannot trick us, and we can make out, as plain as if we saw him, every book that he used. Nay, we can even decide to what country his copy of the Greek text belonged, that it had the text, as corrected by Lucian: and probably that it was what is called a Hexaplar copy.

We may be further asked, why we put the author of this version on Mount Libanus, and not in Chaldea, or Egypt, for instance. Here again interior data combine to determine us: the translation from the Greek, and the knowledge of Hebrew, do not allow us so easily to attribute it to the first country, where the Greek language had long ceased to be known, and Hebrew could be but little cultivated, before this version was made: while the use of the Syriac version, unknown or unused in Egypt, does not permit us to assign it to the latter. But in Syria we have every requisite condition for explaining the character of this translation.[g]

[f] See note (D).

[g] What is lightly and vaguely described in the context is the true history of this version. The writers of "Introductions to Scripture" have been satisfied with pronouncing it to be translated from the Septuagint. But a searching collation of a sufficient portion has convinced us, that the medley of versions enumerated above has concurred to produce a most anomalous, heterogeneous, and often unaccountable translation. We have minute data for this conclusion. [This might suffice for an anonymous publication; but the author

But all this may show how any one who has spent perhaps years in the preliminaries of this study, and has some peculiar local opportunities of perusing it practically, may find interest and even amusement in his researches; but what influence can these have upon his higher perception or relish of God's word? Or we may even ask, do they not naturally divert his thoughts from the better study of its uses, and value of its perfection? We say, most decidedly not. An illustration strikes us, which may explain our view of the matter, better than a disquisition. Let us suppose two enthusiasts about architectural beauty to enter a noble old cathedral; and both, as is the custom with such, straightways to fall into raptures—real ones, in our supposed case, about it. They vie with one another in their exclamations of delight; they praise the harmonious whole, the exquisite proportions, the gigantic dimensions, the delicate enrichments, the airiness of its superstructures, and the solidity of its walls. Chancel and nave, aisles and transepts, pavement and vault, are accurately scanned, rated, dated, and pricelessly valued. The bewildered verger stands amazed, for they evidently know more than he does, who has been in and out of that church, as man and boy, any day these six-and-thirty years. But of the two admirers, the one has evidently some peculiar skill beyond the other. While one is still rambling on, and re-admiring the same beauties again and again, the other is standing still on one spot, and book and pencil in hand, is—sketching perhaps? No, actually calculating. In the midst of that wondrous structure, he has the heart to think of Cocker, or Bonnycastle,

has felt it his duty to give some of these data, in notes at the end of this essay, to prove his statements; though his arguments can have but slight interest, except for biblical critics.]

and to perpetrate so vile a thing as a sum! By a penetrating, as well as a comprehensive glance, he has measured the vast masses which compose the edifice; he has calculated the weight of those enormous blocks which, to his companion's eye and his own, looked so light, more like stalactites pendent from a cavern's roof than solid stone, and appeared hardly to press upon the slim and towering piers. He has estimated how nicely adjusted to the weight is the skilfully planned support, and what clever combinations were required to produce the actual effect. Moreover, he has accurately ascertained, what complicated, yet correct machinery must have been necessary, before the resources of modern mechanics were developed, to exercise the huge power requisite to raise those blocks, and place them securely on their beds high up in air. But if his friend casts on him a glance of almost scorn, as he passes by him, still engaged in his unpoetical labours, how will he regard him when he sees him actually begin to grope and poke into every cranny of the building, and rub off the whitewash, and scrape the pavement, and scrub the tombs? And thus he discovers of what curious materials the structure is composed. This pillar is marble, from Devonshire or from Westmoreland; this canopy is stone, from Caen; this monument is alabaster, from Tutbury; this slab is granite, from Anglesey; this bit of pavement, is tesselated work from Italy; for here are serpentine and porphyry with gold *smalti:* even the main walls are built up with sandstone from quarries at least twenty miles off, without water-carriage.

Now we ask, does this man who thus studies and comprehends the laws of the construction and preservation of the building, and its very hidden and internal substance, lose or gain in true, deep, and earnest

admiration of it, and of its wonderful architect? Yet we do not hesitate to say, that in equal measure will he have advantage, who has carefully and catholicly pursued the critical study of Scripture. For what else is this but the endeavour to discover the means whereby God has framed and preserved this beautiful structure of His wisdom on earth? It is, in fact, the history of his providential dealings with His own divine Word. As we follow it, we discover the marvellous agencies which have been kept at work to preserve, through the vicissitudes of ages, the sacred text. It is translated in every variety of language, by every diversity of genius and learning; it is collated and revised from the most opposite motives, hostile or friendly, orthodox or heretical. It is transcribed in every country, by holy scribes like Bede and Alcuin, or by hasty, blundering, and mercenary penmen. And this goes on for ages; the Jew desirous of one reading, and the Arian of another, and the Catholic striving for the truth. Only an accurate critical study can give a right notion of these various powers, some naturally appearing to tend towards involving the whole text in inextricable confusion, others to distorting it positively into a wrong direction. Yet as surely as did the steam-engine and the hydraulic press, and the pontoons, and the many capstans with their many crews, lately bring the Britannia tube-bridges into their right position, and firmly plant them there; because, though to a mere bystander they appeared pulling in various and conflicting ways, yet they were all under the direction of one master-mind; even so do the many strange powers, to all appearance discordantly at work for ages upon the texts of Old and New Testaments, appear to the devout scholar, overruled and made

subservient, by a wise and unseen control, to the placing and preserving in its high and noble position in the Church, that holy and venerated record of God's mercies. The very jarrings of conflicting interests, the jealousies, the strivings of error against error as against truth, will be found to conspire to the same great purpose. And most certainly, a searching study by a Catholic mind into the very words and points of that sacred writing, is a homage of respect and love to the wise Builder, who has employed them as His materials in this His edifice. They who of old loved God's sanctuary, loved the very stones of which it had been built, even after they had been dispersed.[h] And that study which directs its attention to the materials that enter into the construction of the sacred volume, makes us search for their origin, their accurate form, their rightful position; which enables us to see the treasures and curious fragments of different ages and countries, brought from afar, and made to fit in, and strengthen the work; nay, which in the rudeness or elegance of its construction, shows us equal aptness, design, and evidence of truthfulness and genuineness, — that study, surely, instead of impairing, greatly must increase our veneration and love for Him, who has condescended to speak to man in the language of man, and subject His written, as He did His living, word to the gaze, the scrutiny, and even the inflictions of men. We would venture to say more, were it likely that we should be believed by any but the experienced. We will, therefore, draw this rambling and perhaps tiresome disquisition to a close, by referring, as an example, to only one passage, Matt. xxvii. 17, where the terrible awfulness of the proposal

[h] Ps. ci. 15.

which it records, is inexpressibly aggravated, to one acquainted with the critical history of its text.[i]

Most writers who have treated of our Saviour's Parables, have joined to them His Miracles. A considerable number of essays profess to speak of both: and the reason is sufficiently obvious. Our Lord's miracles may be contemplated in three distinct lights.

1. Simply as miracles or wonderful works, directed to give overwhelming authority to His teaching, and to evidence His heavenly mission and His divine nature. Hence He Himself repeatedly appeals to them, as proofs of His claim to be heard and believed.[k] This view of his miracles appertains to the evidences of Christianity; and in that branch of theology, the character, reality, and the testimony of these marvels, are duly considered and vindicated.

2. As works of mercy. He whom compassion for fallen man had drawn down from heaven, and who had come to rescue him from sin and death, could not but desire to alleviate those sufferings, which were the consequence of the one, and the precursors of the other. He possessed the power likewise to do so, while he chose to live in privation of the means of ordinary alms-giving. It was by the exercise of His

[i] [As I find this allusion is not easily understood, I take the opportunity of explaining it. From ancient MSS. and other sources, it would appear that Barabbas bore the same name as He, with whom he is here impiously compared; a name, at that period not uncommon, but now only to be pronounced with deep reverence, and tender love. Out of these feelings, the robber's prænomen has been dropped from the text: which, with it inserted, would now make one shudder. Pilate's description of our Lord, "who is called, &c.," thus becomes more natural.]

[k] *Matt.* xi. 20, 24; xii. 41; *Mark* iv. 40; *Luke* iv. 36; vii. 16; John ii. 23; v. 36; vii. 31; x. 25, 38; xii. 37; xiv. 12; xv. 24.

power, therefore, that He gave us example of the discharge of charitable duties towards the poor. He could not give them money, in their illness, to buy food; but he gave them health and strength to earn it. In this way St. Peter considered the exercise of the miraculous powers deputed to him: "Silver and gold, I have none; but what I have I give thee: in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk."[l] Where others gave silver, he gave a cure; where others bestowed gold, he bestowed a miracle. The Jews saw our Lord's miracles under this aspect: they not only admired them as evidences of immense power, but they esteemed them as proofs of unbounded goodness. They would have feared Him, whereas they loved Him, had His miracles been only deeds of might; had the withered *fig*-tree, or the drowned herds of the Gerasenes, alone evinced his greatness,[m] they never would have exclaimed, "He hath done all things well; for He hath made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak."[n]

3. It is evident that Christ's miracles, even under these two points of view, were powerful auxiliaries to His teaching. The first secured, in earnest-minded hearers of His word, deep attention; the second won from the affectionate, a willingness to be taught. The one drove to conviction, the other led to easy persuasion. According to the principles of the Rhetorician, they respectively served "reddere auditores *attentos* et *benevolos*." The third mode of considering these great works, the one of which we are about to speak, rendered them *docile*, or teachable; for we have to treat of them as important and truthful lessons.

[l] Acts iii. 6.

[m] Matt. xxi. 19; *Luke* viii. 32.

[n] Mark vii. 37.

We take it for granted that every Catholic, at least, has been instructed in this mode of reading the scripture account of our Saviour's miracles. He has again and again read or heard them commented upon, as lessons acted rather than spoken. "Dominus ac Redemptor noster, per Evangelium suum aliquando verbis, aliquando rebus loquitur."[o] It is nothing new to say that the cleansed leper represents the forgiven sinner, and that the boat saved from the storm, by the power of Jesus present in it, signified the Church. And if the leper is sent to the priest, the Catholic sees naturally the intimation of the priestly ministry in the parallel case. We, therefore, may assume that our Lord's miracles taught a lesson, and some important one.

In treating of the Parables we showed, not, we trust, unsuccessfully, that they contained a distinct body of teaching, corresponding to the prophecy of the Old Testament, and containing the principles, the history, the developments, and the action of the Church. Can we find in the Miracles of our Saviour a counterpart to this? Such is our present inquiry. If what was mysterious in His oral teaching related to things of future accomplishment, it may be fairly surmised that what was still more mysteriously taught by action, should be referable to similar objects. The analogy between a parable spoken, and one acted, is evident, and a miracle which contains in it a lesson, beyond its immediate and obvious purpose, is to all intents and purposes a parable, more even than the symbolical actions of Ezechiel or Osee. For example, when Christ orders His disciples to cast their nets, and, though all night they had done so in vain, they now find them filled with the miraculous draught of

[o] St. Greg. Hom. 32 in Evang.

fishes,[p] we at once see how appropriately this foreshows, how they, when become "fishers of men,"[q] shall bring multitudes into that net, which in another spoken parable has been made the image of the Church,[r] without the multitude breaking the net,[s] that is, destroying religious unity: and how this will be, not by human power, but in obedience to the divine command, and through the energy of grace. For, till the order was given them to go and preach, they had striven in their ministry in vain. Now all this is most apt, not merely because part corresponds to part, but because it corresponds adequately—miracle answers to miracle, each real, and not on the one side figurative. The command of God is equally true in both: and the draught of fishes is miraculous, as is the draught of men in the apostolic net. On the other hand, the cutting and burning of Ezechiel's hair,[t] or his going forth from his house through a hole in the wall,[u] or his lying upon his right or left side,[x] or Osee's marriages,[y] bear no proportion to the terrible exercise of power which they figure. They are mere human actions ennobled into representations of divine judgments; whereas, as we have observed, in the Gospel image there was as much miracle on one side as on the other. Yet it must be borne in mind, at the same time, that the one miracle was immediate, definite, and clear to sight, while the other was gradual, indistinct, and to be learnt by reasoning. For, no one doubts that the propagation of Christianity by the twelve fishermen of Galilee was a divine and supernatural work. But while it was going on, this could not appear, as it does to us, looking

[p] John xxi. 6. [q] Matt. iv. 19. [r] *Matt.* xiii. 47.
[s] John xxi. 11. [t] Ezec. v. [u] xii. 5.
[x] iv. [y] Osee i. iii.

back on its success; nor does the Church's net cease yet to descend, and to bring its goodly freight into the bark of Peter.

From the illustration which we have given, we may draw some first principles, that will gradually bear us forward towards our object. 1. For, if the analogy between the Parables and the Miracles of the Gospel, corresponding to that between prophecy by words, and prophecy by acts, in the old Law, will suggest their both having a common end and term, the instance which we have chosen will give us a further suggestion. And it is, that the miraculous lesson delivered by Christ our Lord, in action, will have a corresponding reality in what it teaches. *If, in the prophets, the act of man was made to represent the action of God, the order cannot be reversed, and the best be degraded,* by the actions of God in the flesh, describing or symbolizing anything less than themselves. Miracle can only foreshow, typify, or guarantee miracle. Nay, we will venture to say more. The marvel performed as a type cannot be greater than its fulfilment: the latter must be the greater. The delivery of Israel from Egypt was a divine miraculous achievement: the wonders of Aaron's rod, the opening sea, the swallowing of Pharaoh's host by the abyss, the plunder of Egypt, the great work preceded by the mysterious pasch, and apparently dependent on it, were well worthy to be considered final and complete. Yet they were all types: and when the fulfilment came, it came with such a superiority of grandeur and sublime results, as proved how only God can surpass His own work: and *will* surpass it, however magnificent, when it has been the figure of another dispensation.

2. Further, in this second instance we have presented to us another result, which may be also drawn

from the first. In both we find, that while the fulfilment is far superior to the figure, yet the appearance of miracle is much greater in the latter. Or we may better express it thus: the fulfilment relates to the order of grace, and the figure belongs to that of nature. The deliverance of man from the broken power of Satan on Calvary, was no less real, and was a more wonderful work, than the freeing of Israel from Egypt's bondage; yet it was not seen by man's eye, nor felt by his soul, as this was. The conversion of the heathen world was a greater miracle than the catching of one hundred and fifty-three fishes: but conversion was an inward, soul-hidden act. If the miracles of our Lord teach as types, we must expect them to represent other acts in the Church, not only equally, but superiorly to themselves wonderful and miraculous: and yet these may, and probably will, be invisible and belonging to the spiritual life.

We may carry this comparison much further into details. The eating of manna represented the spiritual food in the B. Eucharist:[z] the drinking from the rock, the refreshment received from Christ:[a] the raising of the brazen serpent to cure the bite of fiery serpents, the lifting of the cross with its precious burthen to heal the angry bite of the infernal serpent:[b] Jonas, in the whale, and cast again on shore, our Lord's resurrection.[c] The thing represented was far nobler and sublimer than the type in every instance, and intrinsically more prodigious and miraculous; yet this quality did not appear to men's eyes in the reality, as it did in the inferior figure. We must ever, therefore, bear this in mind.

[z] John vi.
[a] 1 Cor. x. 4.
[b] John iii. 14.
[c] Matt. xii. 40.

The Christian revelation wonderfully opened to man a second world, the sight of which had been utterly withheld from the heathen, and only manifested in glimpses to the better Jews. The new heavens and earth thus manifested showed man in a new state; a spiritual life, which has its laws, its course, its goods and evils, its beginning and progress, nay, its very food, its organic operations, its illnesses, its cures, its very death, though not destruction. The soul, that indefinite being even in Jewish theology, is with the Christian so real an existence, that he can individualize it in mind, and separate it in thought, from his very self. He can speak of his soul as weak though his body is strong, or as powerful when *he* is feeble: it may be at rest and in peace while his outward existence is passed in tempestuous troubles—the soul may sleep, with Jesus, in the very bark that is tossed on the billows. He may feed that soul, while his body is starving; clothe it, while his flesh is naked. It may fly towards heaven while the mortal frame creeps on earth, and will attain its object when this perishes. All this requires a system provided for it: the "things spiritual," which are so familiar in the Catholic's mouth. Grace is the sphere, the order in which this spiritual life has place: it is its principle, its breath; the soul of soul, the food, the vesture, the sustaining vigour, the means of growth, the motive power; it is the ruling, and regulating, and perfecting energy of this invisible economy. A Catholic holds and understands all this, as though he saw it. But in the Gospel estimate this spiritual order is infinitely higher and nobler than that which includes the body, and its natural contingencies. To cure the soul is infinitely a greater deed and a greater miracle than to cure the

body, and so is to raise a soul, far more than to raise a body, from death.

There is thus established a corresponding order of existence and operations, between the seen and the unseen life; each being equally real. The Miracles then of our Saviour, if they are representatives of other actions, can find in this spiritual state their truest counterparts,—realities no less marvellous, and of a far superior character.

Yet so long as man has not been totally absorbed into the spiritual life, but still lives on earth, a compound being, it is clear that the ministrations to the spiritual life must pass through his lower state, and be connected with earth. The rain first rises from the earth, then falls on it again, and thence it comes forth once more in bubbling spring, or sparkling fountain, or it steals quietly out a brook or river, with fertilizing energy. And so grace was first begotten on earth, by the merits and the death of the Holy One; thence it was borne to its boundless treasure-house in heaven, whence descending into the Church's rich soil, it is redistributed, in endless beautiful forms, through her various agencies and ministerial institutions. Now the *sacramental* action of Grace, as conceived and understood by the Catholic alone, will exactly answer all the conditions requisite to solve our problem. The sacrament belongs to the higher sphere of the spiritual life; it is supernatural in its invisible efficacy, as the miracle is in its visible effect; yet it is real: it is so perfect a counterpart as to be a sufficient fulfilment; and it is so immeasurably above it, as to be a worthy fulfilment. And such we believe to be the real teaching of the great body of our Saviour's Miracles, as preserved for us in the apostolic records. As the Parables con-

tained the dogmatical and moral principles to be developed in the Church, so do the Miracles show forth the superhuman, and in truth miraculous, agencies of her practical ministry. The one tells us what the Church shall be and say, the other what she shall do.

It is now time that we look into the Gospel itself for the groundwork of this view.

Our blessed Lord, when alone with His disciples, before His passion, said to them: "Amen, amen: I say to you, he that believeth in Me, the works that I do, he also shall do, *and greater than these shall he do.*"[d] That the miraculous powers alluded to in the first part of the sentence, were not bestowed on the body of the faithful indiscriminately, is clear. St. Paul gives evidence that they were at most distributively given to the first Christians;[e] nor is there reason to suppose, that every simple faithful was a Thaumaturgus: it is peculiarly related of St. Stephen, that he being "full of grace and fortitude, did great signs and wonders among the multitude;"[f] as though this gift was special. But to the Apostles and disciples, the gift of doing all miracles, even the same as Christ our Lord, was part of their commission, bestowed on all, previous to their receiving any spiritual or priestly charge. "Going, preach, saying: The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils."[g] Again, to the seventy-two the same power was granted: "Heal the sick . . . and say to them: The kingdom of God hath come nigh unto you."[h] To the first of these commissions, it seems impossible to add. The four classes of miraculous benefits enumerated, include all that our

[d] John xiv. 12. [e] 1 Cor. xii. 11. [f] Acts vi. 8.
[g] Matt. x. 8; Luke ix. 1. [h] Luke x. 9.

Saviour ever performed, even to the raising of the dead. And beyond this exercise of miraculous power, how was it possible to go? What greater works than Jesus did, as miracles, remained to be performed, in virtue of his promise? Was it possible to go beyond the raising of Lazarus? The words cannot be so understood. Then we can only reasonably explain them in this sense, that works of equal power, but belonging to a higher order, would be performed by the faithful followers, whom the apostles represent. We shall be more ready to admit this interpretation, when we see similar language employed elsewhere. For instance:—"Every one who hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting."[i] It is clear, that the hundred-fold of earthly goods, signifies not the reward of the future life, from which it is expressly distinguished; but a recompense in this world. But it means corresponding spiritual gifts, greater because belonging to a higher order, affecting the soul and not the body. For no one has ever imagined that the promise related to the real increase of the very things renounced, except perhaps some sensual millenarians. Yet no doubt the greater things promised, are not so striking to sense, so appreciable by the animal man, in his debased nature and with his limited faculties, as are the grosser and more material, though lesser, ones. In like manner, therefore, we may reasonably conclude the greater things than Christ's visible miracles, which the faithful had to perform, to refer to those works of power, which the ministry of the Church effects in the spiritual class

[i] Matt. xix. 29.

of her operations: and this gives us at once, her sacramental energy.[k]

Upon this theory, the Catholic easily explains the selection made out of the countless miracles wrought by our Saviour. When St. John, shutting up the Gospel records, twice takes care to inform us, that "many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of His disciples, which are not written in this book,"[l] and that "the world itself would not be able to contain the books that should be written," to relate all the things which He did:[m] we must conclude that the miracles recorded are selected from that vast unrecorded multitude, because these were particularly important for us to know. Hence St. John tells us, what was one main principle in his selection, and it accords exactly with what we concluded respecting his Gospel, when treating of the parables. After the first of these two texts, he continues: "But these [signs] are written that you may believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."[n] In other words, St. John selected his miracles with a view to establish our Saviour's Divinity, against the rising heresies of the early Church. Accordingly, as we find him give fewer parables, so we find him relate fewer miracles. But those which he does record, he describes with a minuteness of detail and a drawing out of proof, which are not only highly interesting, but clearly show his purpose. The most remarkable instance is, the cure

[k] [St. Gregory, to omit others, thus writes concerning the miraculous powers given by our Lord to His disciples:—"Habemus de his signis atque virtutibus quæ adhuc subtilius considerare debeamus. Sancta quippe Ecclesia quotidie spiritualiter facit, quod tunc per Apostolos corporaliter faciebat..... *Quæ nimirum miracula tanto majora sunt, quanto spiritualia: tanto majora sunt, quanto per hæc non corpora, sed animæ suscitantur.*"—Hom. xxix. in Evang.]

[l] John xx. 30. [m] xxi. 25. [n] xx. 31.

of the blind man, in his ninth chapter. Every perusal of this beautiful narrative inspires us with fresh admiration. The sifting of the evidence, and the cross-examination of the witnesses, are masterpieces of almost forensic investigation. The resurrection of Lazarus, is another similar instance of detailed narration,[o] directed to show how fully the miracle was tested by adverse parties, and how easy would have been its refutation or its gainsaying, had there been a flaw in its decisiveness. Another of St. John's miracles is remarkable, as bearing, like this, upon a point, towards which our Lord seems to have directed more especial miracles than towards any other—the confuting of the Jewish superstitions respecting the Sabbath. St. John relates another cure wrought on the Sabbath for this purpose, on which our Redeemer reasoned against the Pharisees respecting it. This was the cure of the cripple at the pool of Bethesda, in the fifth chapter, referred to and defended in the eleventh.[p] When we consider that the right claimed by our Lord, over the divine institution of the Sabbath, as the Jews considered it, was a strong proof of His assumption of a Divine power, we can easily understand how St. John, as well as the other Evangelists, should have selected miracles in which this legislative prerogative was exercised. And as we are on this subject, we may close it by remarking, that a similar selection of miracles is to be found in the other Evangelists, not only perhaps to establish the important truth, in the abstract, that the "Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath;"[q] but, as He transferred all His authority to His apostles, and sent them, as His Father had sent Him, to show how they were authorized to exercise this lordship, by the transfer of its obligations to another day. The

[o] xi. [p] vv. 21—23. [q] Matt. xii. 8 Mark ii. 28.

miracles recorded to prove this truth are, the cure of a withered hand in the very synagogue,[r] that of a woman bowed down,[s] and of a dropsical man.[t] It may be worthy of remark, that these three miracles (the two last exclusively) are related by St. Luke, whose Gospel we saw, in our former paper, seemed clearly directed to the forming of the Church, already established beyond the want of mere evidence against the Jews (the scope of St. Matthew), in practical virtue and religion. The rules of Christian Sabbath observance, as well as the Church's right to appoint the Christian Sabbath, are thus laid down by him.

But to return to St. John's Gospel, from which we have somewhat digressed, it may be worthy of notice, that besides the miracles which we have mentioned, the histories of Lazarus, the blind man, and the helpless patient of Bethesda, there are only two others recorded by him, before the resurrection, which, while they signally proclaim the divine power of Jesus, are most important for establishing the view which we are taking of His miracles.

While St. John made his selection of signs from the boundless riches of our Saviour's works, the other Evangelists did the same. They all concur in assuring us that He healed every sort of disease;[u] and yet it is evident, that they ever dwell upon some in particular, and such does our Lord Himself ever select. And these we shall find, both in their own nature, and in the circumstances accompanying them, the liveliest image possible of the sacramental institutions in the Church. We will rapidly glance at each :—

I. *Baptism.*—The most striking effect of conversion in the early Church, would be the admission to a new

[r] Mark iii. 2; Luke vi. 6. [s] Luke xiii. 11. [t] Luke xiv. 4.
[u] Matt. iv. 23; xv. 30; Mark i. 32; Luke vii. 21.

and wonderful knowledge of religious truth. The cleansing from original sin would be known as the direct grace of the Sacrament; but the obvious effect, and the fruit of the grace, would be the initiation into the beauties of the Christian mysteries, and the participation thence resulting in the vast range of sublime religious thought. What a flash of intellectual illumination would dart upon the soul of a right-minded heathen, who had been groping in the gloom of complete ignorance, or in the twilight of a striving philosophy, when, for the first time, the Christian doctrine of man's origin, destiny, fall, and reparation, was unfolded to him! What a steady, calm, and cheering brightness would seem to overspread the moral firmament, when the principles of love of God and man, and the splendid system of Christian virtues, were completely communicated to him! If to men of study, of thought, and of superior mind, such as Brownson or Stolberg, the passage from a false Christianity to the true has appeared as the transition from light to darkness; if their previous wisdom has seemed to them as mere childish perception compared with the clearness and brilliancy of the spiritual light which has shone on them, and played from its vivid centre on all other objects of knowledge, and kindled them up in its own warm ray;—what must the beam have been that flashed on a Dionysius, from the lips of St. Paul, when his noble doctrines threw into the shade all the wisdom of the Athenian council? Surely to say, that "their eyes had been opened;—that they had passed from darkness to light;—that now indeed they saw;"—would be the most natural expressions they could use to describe the intellectual change which they experienced in themselves. What would a moral pagan thinker, who was drawn towards Christi-

anity, most naturally ask, but *Domine ut videam ?*— "Lord, that I may see ?"[x] Hence, any one conversant with the New Testament will at once remember, that "darkness" in it signifies the state of men before Christ's coming; and "light" the condition of those who followed Him.

But the spiritual condition of man was not merely one of darkness and blindness: it resembled rather a state of total helplessness. Even when his feeble ray of moral light showed him the right way, he had no strength to follow it.

> "Video meliora proboque,
> Deteriora sequor,"

was a true picture of man's mind, in regard to moral good. There was no vigour nor energy in the will; there was no stimulant to the choice of good; and worse than all, there was no consciousness nor hope of any infusion of a superhuman grace. But when the Christian found himself suddenly, not only able to fulfil the law of nature, but to "run in the way" of most arduous commandments; nay, when he felt himself ready and eager for suffering and death for Christ, and saw his tender daughter joyfully weaving for her own head the lily and the rose, into a double crown of virginity and martyrdom; to what would he liken himself better, than to one who had lain grovelling till then in impotent lameness, a cripple in every limb, till set free; and new strength and buoyancy had been marvellously bestowed upon his spiritual frame?

Every other sense, even the most inferior, has its parallel in the spiritual life. The soul hears in Christianity by that docility of learning, and that readiness

[x] Luke xviii. 35; Matt. xx. 33; Mark x. 51.

of obedience, which belong exclusively to the believer. "The Lord hath opened my ear, and I do not resist,"[y] exclaims Isaias in the person of Christ. And frequently those who refuse to hear the word of God, through him, are styled by him deaf,[z] as they are by the other prophets.[a] In the New Testament a similar use occurs.[b] To open the mouth or the lips, expresses similarly the power worthily to praise God, and to speak His truths.[c] Again, therefore, we may easily imagine how a Christian, once fully imbued with the truths of his religion, one to whom the wonderful mystery of the blessed Trinity had been taught, with its no less sublime sequel, the Incarnation, able now to address God as He is,[d] and to speak worthily of His nature, would feel as though the enjoyment of a new sense had been given him, and his tongue had been loosened, like Zachary's,[e] to proclaim the mercies of God.

There are some other circumstances worthy of consideration in this matter.

1st. The afflictions which we have enumerated are almost always congenital, or date from birth. The blind, the deaf and dumb, and the crippled, are almost always born so; the cases that arise from accident are the exceptions. And in the New Testament this circumstance is particularly recorded. St. John expressly tells us, that the blind man cured by Jesus,

[y] Is. l. 5. [z] vi. 10; xliii. 8; xlviii. 8; lxiv. 4.

[a] Jer. v. 21; vi. 10; xi. 8; xxxiv. 14; Ezec. xii. 12; xl. 4; Mic. vii. 6; Zac. vii. 11.

[b] Mark viii. 18; Acts xxviii. 26; Rom. xii. 8.

[c] Ps. l. 17; Prov. viii. 6; Is. vi. 8; l. 4; Jer. i. 9; Ezec. iii. 27.

[d] "In confessione veræ fidei, æternæ Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere, et in potentia majestatis adorare unitatem."—*Collect for Trinity Sunday.*

[e] Luke i. 64.

had been so from birth :[f] and two cripples, cured by St. Peter and St. Paul, are especially described as such from their mothers' wombs.[g] The state, therefore, was one of privation rather than of loss; it came with birth, and was a natural condition. This class of visitation represents, in consequence, the state of man not brought to Grace, better than those sicknesses or infirmities which have afterwards grown upon him, or have resulted from personal misfortunes. When the disciples asked our Lord, if the blind man had been so afflicted for his parents' sins,[h] they gave us no bad clue to the discovery of the cause of man's spiritual blindness.

2nd. In those whom our Saviour cured, by restoring to them lost senses or power of limbs, poverty seems generally to have been an additional affliction. That he was equally willing to heal the rich as the poor, we cannot doubt. But the Evangelists have recorded for us comparatively few instances of His going into the houses of the wealthy for such a purpose. It was the multitude that flocked around him in the streets, the beggars on the roadside, and at the gates of towns,[i] who chiefly applied to him for relief. He went to sup with Simon the leper,[k] but we do not read that He healed him. Perhaps the proud Pharisee, who despised Magdalen, was above asking for it, or recognising our Lord's miraculous power. This further enhances the parallel between man in his fallen state, and the healed by Christ. He was spiritually poor, as well as blind, lame, deaf, and dumb.

3rd. These particular ailments are especially connected, as consequences, with demoniacal possession.

[f] John ix. 1. [g] Acts iii. 12; xiv. 7. [h] John ix. 2.
[i] Matt. xx. 30; Mark x. 52; Luke xviii. 43. [k] Mark xiv. 3.

We have three remarkable cases recorded of this. The first is related by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of a dumb demoniac.[l] The second is of one possessed, who was deaf and dumb, mentioned by St. Mark and St. Luke.[m] The third unites with possession, the triple loss of sense; the energumen being blind and deaf, consequently dumb, as described by St. Matthew alone.[n] Now, here again is a most striking similitude between the spiritual condition of man and the physical state of those whom Jesus Christ mostly cured on earth, so far at least as it has been thought, for our instruction, right to record. Man's soul was blind, deaf, and dumb, through the fearful possession of the evil one, who had usurped God's dominion over the mind and heart of man. He was in the bondage of the devil, as well as in darkness and gloom. Hence the two are joined in enumerating the objects of Christ's mission. "To preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind," had been foretold by Isaias, and is quoted by St. Luke,[o] as descriptive of His glorious work. And speaking of this satanic mastery over man's body, we may as well remark, how fearfully, yet how strikingly, it was meant to represent a similar tyranny over his soul, in one other gospel description of it. It was a legion of devils that had invaded him, their influence had brutalized him to the level of the most unclean of animals, and then pushed him headlong into a gulf in which he must perish.[p]

We have not thought it necessary to strengthen what we have written by reference to authorities.

[l] Matt. ix. 33; Luke xi. 14.
[m] Mark ix. 16, 24 ("Deaf and dumb spirit"); Luke ix. 38.
[n] Matt. xii. 22.
[o] Is. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 19.
[p] Matt. xviii. 24.

There is not a point which we could not corroborate from the holy Fathers, who again and again represent the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the demoniacs as representing man in his fallen state. We will, therefore, proceed at once to the application of what we have said.

The rite by which, in ancient as in modern times, the Church acts upon that state of man, touches him with the healing power of Christ, frees him from Satan's gripe, changes his condition, opens his eyes, his ears, his mouth, and makes him rightly see, hear, and speak, and gives him strength to walk in God's commandments, is holy Baptism. So natural was this idea, that her whole ritual of baptism is based upon it.

First; the exorcisms which occupy its first part, show that the unbaptized are placed by her in the class, spiritually, of those under the grasp and control of the evil one. He is rebuked, cursed, and disdainfully adjured, and violently thrust out; and this is done with an energy and rudeness of language, exactly suited to the object, and like to what our Saviour used with His demoniacs. Dr. Pusey, in his well-remembered Tract on Baptism, has proved that every liturgy but the Anglican contains these exorcisms, and consequently this idea.

Secondly; the senses are treated as requiring restoration, and the very rites are copied which our Lord condescended to employ for the purpose of restoring them. When "they brought to Him one deaf and dumb, and besought Him that He would lay His hand upon him:" he would not consent to exercise His power, by that ordinary mode; but "taking him from the multitude apart, He put His fingers into his ears, and spitting, He touched his tongue; and

looking up to heaven, He groaned and said to him: Ephpheta, which is, Be thou opened."[q] Now this ceremony, the Church has, from the beginning, adopted into her ritual for baptism: where the priest, touching the ears of the catechumen, pronounces the same word, touching similarly with spittle, as in imitation of the divine action, the nostrils. And then into the mouth is put the salt, "the sacramentum salis," still further symbolizing the opening of the mouth, to speak heavenly wisdom, of which salt is the emblem.

Thirdly, in the rite for the baptism of an adult, there is a striking ceremony, which expresses strongly the Church's thought on this resemblance. The officiating bishop or priest signs with the cross the various senses, with appropriate words. "I sign thy forehead ✠ that thou mayest receive the Cross of Christ. I sign thine ears ✠ that thou mayest hear the divine precepts. I sign thine eyes ✠ that thou mayest see the brightness of God. I sign thy nostrils ✠ that thou mayest feel the sweet odour of Christ. I sign thy mouth ✠ that thou mayest speak the words of life. I sign thy breast, ✠ that thou mayest believe in God. I sign thy shoulders ✠ that thou mayest receive the yoke of His service. I sign thee all ✠ [not touching] in the name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son, ✠ and of the Holy Ghost, ✠ that thou mayest have life everlasting, and mayest live for ever and ever. Amen." Again, when the bishop in the porch of the church, truly to the Catholic, "the beautiful gate" of God's house, stretches out his hand to the catechumen there kneeling, and raises him up, and saying to him, "Enter into the Church of God," leads him, holding by his stole, for the first time

[q] Mark vii. 33.

into the temple, how much the resemblance must strike us with what was done by Peter, the first bishop after Christ, when, in the name of Jesus, he bid the lame man, at the temple gate, to rise; "and taking him by the right hand, lifted him up;" and the man "walked, and went with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God;" and he on his part, "held Peter and John,"[r] no doubt, by their garments, as affectionately clinging to them.

Fourthly; but the great blessing of baptism or bringing to the faith, was that which St. Peter so beautifully expresses when addressing his new Christians, in the words adopted from him by St. Augustine, in speaking to the newly baptized, calling them, "a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people; that you may declare," he adds, "His virtues, who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light."[s] While the miracles that regard other bodily organs and powers may be considered as accessories, this bestowing of the grace of Faith, the foundation of all other virtues, must be considered as the very essence of baptismal regeneration, and is truly the bringing of blind nature to the "marvellous light of God." Hence in the baptismal service of the Church it is frequently alluded to, under this image. In the very opening prayer, with his hand placed on the child's or catechumen's head, the priest thus speaks:—"All blindness of heart drive from him, break the bonds of Satan in which he hath been bound." And again, more solemnly, and with the same important action, he prays as follows:—"I entreat Thy eternal and most just pity, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, author of light and

[r] Acts iii. 1—11. [s] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

truth, on behalf of this thy servant N., that Thou wilt vouchsafe to enlighten him with Thine intellectual light." And this in the baptism of adults, is preceded by an abjuration of Satan, in these words: "For He commandeth thee, accursed one for ever lost! who opened the eyes of the man born blind." Finally, in the same service we have the following prayer: "I beseech Thee, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, that to this Thy servant N., who wanders uncertain and doubtful in the night of this world, Thou wilt command the way of Thy truth, and of knowledge of Thee to be shown; that the eyes of his heart being opened, he may know Thee, one God, the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, with the Holy Ghost,"[t] &c.

These passages will prove sufficiently, how strong the analogy is in the mind of the Church between the giving of sight to the bodily blind, and of faith to the unbaptized. Among the rites familiar to our Saviour as a means of cure, was that of laying His hands upon the patient, a ceremony which may be said to have become especially sacramental. This was employed by him in curing the blind; and in one instance remarkably:—"And taking the blind man by the hand, He led him out of the town; and spitting upon his eyes, laying His hand upon him, He asked him if he saw anything. And looking up, he said: I see men, as it were trees walking. After that, again He laid his hands upon his eyes, and he began to see and was restored, so that he saw all things clearly."[u] Now we have seen how just twice, in the administration of baptism, the priest places his hand upon the

[t] We can only refer to the Roman Ritual or Pontifical, where the two baptismal services are given, for these various extracts.

[u] Mark viii. 22—26.

child, with a prayer for the removal of blindness at the first, and for the granting of light at the second time.

But another instance is more remarkable. When Saul is overtaken by the merciful judgment of God, on the road to Damascus, he is struck blind. Was this merely to humble and subdue his haughty spirit, to tame him, like a blinded eagle, plucked down in his first flight for prey? Or is there not also in this, a deeper symbolic meaning, to show him how the power of the Church's ministry, while it cured his corporal blindness, gave his soul also intellectual light? For Ananias coming in to baptize him, "laying his hands upon him," said: "Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus hath sent me ... that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight; and rising up he was baptized."[x] Now here we have the very miracle of blindness cured, connected with the baptismal rite: nay, more, to all appearance, blindness inflicted, on purpose to show the close analogy between the two, and to bring the visible miracle in confirmation of the invisible.

Our Lord Himself, however, has directly given us the most interesting example of this connection. We have before referred to the detailed account preserved by St. John, of the cure of a blind man. In this instance our blessed Saviour first made use of the mysterious ceremony described by St. Mark. For, "He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and spread the clay upon his eyes." This, one might have supposed, would have sufficed to complete the cure. And so it would have done, had He so willed it. But, undoubtedly to teach a lesson, of which we ought to learn the import, He "said to him: Go wash [bathe]

[x] Acts ix. 18.

in the pool of Siloe, which is interpreted, Sent. He went therefore, and washed, and he came seeing."[y] If Jesus desired to symbolize the miraculous action of baptism as we have described it, as giving the divine light of Faith supernaturally to the soul, He could not have done it more completely than in this, the most minutely recounted of all His cures wrought on the blind. The anointing of the eyes, for so the text describes it,[z] was only made a preliminary ceremony, like the unction with the oil of catechumens in our baptism; but the cure was completed by the waters—not of the Jordan, the waters of John, but of the bathing-pool of Siloe, the waters of the Messiah. And even this choice is most expressive, when we take into account the Jewish belief concerning it, that it was the most efficacious bath for purification from legal defilement.[a] Not even Cæsar's celebrated report, "Veni, vidi, vici," expressed more emphatically the rapidity of his conquest, than does the blind man's narrative, the instantaneousness of his cure. "That man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed my eyes, and said to me: Go to the pool of Siloe, and wash. *And I went, I washed, and I see.*" No wonder that the ancient Christians should have applied to the baptistery, the very word used in this passage, calling it among other names, the κολυμβήθρα or swimming-bath: doubtless from this very passage.

[y] John ix. 6, 7.

[z] Ἐπέχρισε, v. 6. The act here described, like that before quoted from St. Mark viii. 23, will appear in no ways strange to those who are aware how much a similar practice was in use among the Jews, and other nations of antiquity. See Wetstein *in loc.*

[a] "Even if he should wash himself in the waters of Siloam.....he would not obtain complete cleanness."—Talm. Hieros. Ibid. Where see also, on v. 6, the Jewish denunciation against anointing the eyes, or rubbing them with saliva on the Sabbath. Compare v. 13.

All that we have said will receive confirmation from a beautiful passage in Isaias, and will, in return, throw light upon it. It is the following:—"God Himself will come, and will save you. Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as the hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall be free. *For waters are broken out in the desert, and streams in the wilderness.* . . . . And a path and a way shall be there, and it shall be called the holy way; the unclean shall not pass over it; and this shall be unto you a straight way, so that fools shall not err therein . . . . . they shall walk there that shall be delivered."[b] It is to spiritual ailments alone that allusion can here be made.

It may well appear superfluous to add, that only in Catholic baptism is a counterpart discoverable, to the class of miracles which we have united together, as they generally are classified in the Gospels. The exorcisms and other prayers, which we have quoted, have disappeared from the Protestant Liturgy; all intimation of belief in effects parallel to those miracles of our Lord will be sought there in vain. But not only in the formularies, but in the opinions, of the Anglican system, there is a total absence of the doctrine necessary to establish such a parallelism as we have traced. We are sure that Faith is there neither spoken of, nor considered, as a gift of God, an infused virtue, actually and instantly communicated to the soul in baptism—into the soul even of an infant. Faith with Protestants is a profession of a mode of thought; thought being an act of the individual. Hence, in Confirmation, the Anglican system looks to personal profession of what had been professed by

[b] Is. xxxv. 4—9.

proxy, in baptism. But there is no actual belief (unless it be in the ideal church which lurks in the closets of Oxford theologians) that the child had, from baptism, possessed an inherent, true, and orthodox faith. Hence the first question in the Catholic Ritual, put to the catechumen is, "N., What dost thou ask of the Church of God?" and the answer is, "Faith." That the Anglican theory, even when elevated to the highest stage of High-churchism, has no perception of this most important point of the doctrine of baptism, will appear from this,—that none more than Oxford theorists try to deter ladies and young men from becoming Catholics, by telling them that thereby they will be renouncing "the Church of their baptism." For such a phrase can only signify, that in baptism they were incorporated into the English establishment, as a body distinct from the *orbis terrarum* Church, or the Catholic Church in communion with Rome. For if Anglicanism be part of the one universal Church, such an expression is as unmeaning and as absurd, as if one were to say to a man, "Do not become a British subject, lest you cease to be a citizen of London;" or to a soldier, "Do not join the body of the army, lest, thereby, you renounce your regiment." The phrase, therefore, means, that Anglicanism is so distinct from Catholicity, as that the baptism of the one is not that of the other. Now for this to be, either the baptized child receives no faith, or it receives faith according to the holding of Anglicanism, as distinct from that of the Catholic Church; and that is clearly no faith at all. The only sense to be attached to such a now "cant phrase" is:—"In baptism you made *profession* of Anglicanism, and it is sinful in you to depart from that *profession*." And this meaning is rendered more evident by the fact, that they who use it *profess* Angli-

canism, but make no scruple of *believing* Catholicity. The expression is another Protestant novelty: we are only surprised that it had not been forestalled by the Donatists. It makes the Church more like the corporation of a close borough, than the empire of God over the whole world.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, considering baptism as the *Janua Ecclesiæ*,—"the gate of the Church," considers every one validly (even though unlawfully) baptized, as a member of the true Church, a Catholic, possessing sound faith, as well as other infused virtues, and as continuing so until some contradictory act destroys the virtue, and transfers the unhappy victim to the dominion of error, schism, or heresy. Look well to this, ye high-church teachers; every one of you, if duly baptized, has once, in the estimation of the Catholic, Universal, One Church, been a member of it. Each of you has left it by an act of apostasy! and your children, whom you have with your own hands baptized, that the sacred rite might not be made void by the profane carelessness of its daily administration around you, these yet innocent prattling little ones are still ours, in communion with the holy Church of God throughout the world. When the day comes that you, more in doubt than is consistent with safety, about your own position, shall pour into their docile ears, the poison of a heresy which you regret, shall make them believe that Jesus Christ has left no one united Church on earth, or that he commanded not communion with Peter, or that the titular of your diocese is a descendant of the apostles, or that Mary should not be invoked, or that baptism made them Anglican, or that there is no real corporeal presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, or that priestly absolution is not of necessity for pardon of sins; or

should the day come (for strange things do now happen), when you will teach exactly the contrary, and tell your children that your Church (as you call it) holds every one of the opposite doctrines, just as Catholics do, and so cheat them verily into an heretical profession of orthodox doctrine; when that day comes, know ye, that you will be guilty of a parricidal act; you will pluck from off your children's body that white garment of innocence (for heresy is sin), which in every real baptism is spiritually placed upon the neophyte; you will snatch the burning lamp of orthodox faith from their hands; you will tear off the garland of joyful adoption which true baptism placed upon their heads. You will do worse; you will reverse the wonders of baptism; you will undo its miracle. You will blind the eyes that have been once opened, seal up the ears again that have been unstopped, tie up the tongue that has been loosened, and cripple the limbs that have been made whole. Oh! think of this, before it becomes too late. You, whose minds are tempest-tossed, uncertain of your faith, who perhaps flatter yourselves with the hope that unity may yet be restored, and you may be carried safely by the gulf-stream into the haven of Catholic rest; you, who will not venture to say that no occurrence may happen that will unmoor you from your present position, and drive you into our Church; you, above all, who say, that while you believe it to be your duty to remain where God has placed you, you would rejoice had His Providence from the beginning rooted you in the Catholic Church, who "would give anything" to have been always Catholic. Spare your own pains, your own stings, your own tortures, to those you love; forego the delusion that you can educate your children Catholics in an Anglican church, or an

Anglican parsonage; frankly and generously give them up to the only mother that will train them holily; make them pledges of your love, which you give not to your own system; send your treasures where you profess your heart to be, that the two be together, and you give not the lie to truth. Yes, we boldly repeat it, there are many now in Anglicanism, who cannot, without fearful sin, allow their children to be brought up in it, for they have not the excuse of a false conscience. Their only escape is, to let them continue safe in the Church of their baptism, the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

II. *Penance.*—It will not be necessary to delay the reader longer upon the other Sacraments. The application of our Lord's miracles to them will be less complicated. If those afflictions, which disable man for work, which afflict him from his birth, which visit him rather as negations or privations of good than as a positive withdrawal of what has been held, and which were in Christ's time united often with demoniacal possession, seem most aptly to apply, as figures, to unregenerated man; those ailments and diseases which befall him in his course of life, and often end in death, may be taken to symbolize those spiritual distempers which he brings upon his soul by sin. Indeed, so accurately could the resemblance be traced, that particular complaints might be easily compared to particular sins or vices. Even the heathen poet could read the parallel between the avaricious mind and him who

"Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops."

Anger is a fever of the mind, anxious care its gnawing canker, jealousy its jaundice, pride its plethory, sloth its atrophy.

But we will confine ourselves to three of the lashes of that scourge which fell upon man when first he sinned.

1. The first of these is palsy. It is not unfrequently the consequence of excess, and it reduces the man to a helpless condition: it deprives him often of utterance, it incapacitates him for work. It makes him, as far as possible, what we have before described, as symbolizing the state of fallen man. What more exact image of what man does to his own soul by sin? He makes it a palsy-stricken, prostrate, trembling, helpless, useless, wretched thing. The cure recorded by the three first Evangelists,[c] of a paralytic man, is especially interesting for this, that it is evidently recorded to establish the Catholic doctrine on forgiveness of sins. The patient is brought before our Saviour, by being let down through the roof; and instead of being at once healed, he is addressed in these words: "Man, thy sins are forgiven thee." Now, this mode of acting no doubt proceeded from the charity and goodness of Jesus, who, like a skilful physician, would not deal with a lesser malady while there was a greater in possession. But the words were, most assuredly, designedly spoken. They were intended to provoke a grave objection, and to afford an occasion to answer it: and that answer was to be of solemn and dear importance to us. They indicate, moreover, how the sight of the man's corporal affliction brought to our Lord's mind his spiritual and unseen state. For else, wherefore did He not address the same words to any of the bystanders, who may have needed, as no doubt most did, this timely pardon? But this poor wretch's prostrate frame and quivering limbs were to Him but the lively image of a soul overthrown and disabled by

[c] Matt. ix. 6; Mark ii. 10; Luke v. 24.

sin. Some Protestant commentators have considered this expression equivalent to a declaration of cure; but it is clear that the effect of restoration to bodily health did not ensue. We must, therefore, conclude, that true remission of sins was here granted; and the more, because the very same words are used, as were on occasion of Magdalene's forgiveness.[d] The Jews inwardly think, that our Lord blasphemes, by arrogating a power which belongs exclusively to God. "Who is this that speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God alone?" Had he merely cured the poor man, they would not have raised the objection. They had seen him cure plenty of such: but, evidently, they considered the power of healing spiritual maladies so much higher and greater, that they could not allow the one necessarily to involve the other. He, therefore, meets their thoughts; and answers: "Which is easier to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and walk? But that you may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (He saith to the sick of the palsy,) I say to thee Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house."[e] Our Lord Himself may be said here to draw the resemblance; first, between the two ailments,—the body's and the soul's; and secondly, between the cure of the one and that of the other, between the healing of a grievous malady, and the forgiveness of sin. He, moreover, establishes the adequacy of the resemblance, comparing them as acts of power, and showing how one was of the same nature as the other—each a miracle. If, then, to the apostles He gave this very power—"heal *the sick*;"[f] and if afterwards, as though almost alluding to this very passage, and using the same words, He repeats the assertion of His own power on earth, and com-

[d] Luke vii. 48. [e] Ib. v. 23, 24. [f] Matt. x. 8.

municates it to them, to the extent of exercising, that which He cured the palsied man to claim—the forgiving of sins,[g] we may surely conclude that this prerogative was received by them in a sense, which perfectly made it correspond to the miraculous gifts conferred on them. And who doubts that of the two, the spiritual healing was a much greater boon from Christ our Lord than the visible and corporal? Who doubts that, "thy sins are forgiven thee," though to men as easy to say, was a far greater mercy, than, "arise, take up thy bed?" Had the latter alone been spoken, it might have been the prolongation only of a life of sin, and an accumulation of condemnation, that would have ensued. Had the former only, they would have secured to the sick man, at least, an everlasting life. And as the boon, so was the power from which it flowed.

Here then, we have the parallel exactly established between a visible act of supernatural power, and an invisible exercise of an equal, or greater, power. When the Apostles raised a paralytic, all the multitude would applaud, as they no doubt did when St. Peter, almost in the same words as his divine Master, said to Eneas, "who was ill of the palsy," "Arise, and make thy bed; and immediately he arose."[h] But they did much more, and no one saw it,

[g] Compare "the Son of Man hath *power on earth* to *forgive sins*," with "*all power* is given to me in heaven *and on earth*" (Matt. xxviii. 18), and, "as the Father sent me [*on earth*], so do I send you. Whose *sins* you shall *forgive*, they are *forgiven* them" (John xx. 21, 23). The words in italic are the same, in the different passages, in the original.

[h] Acts ix. 38. While this miracle presents a resemblance to the healing of the palsied man in the Gospel, the account which immediately follows it (the raising of Tabitha), has no less resemblance to the raising of the daughter of Jairus. (Matt. ix. 23.)

when, in virtue of their higher commission, they forgave a man his sins. This parallel leads us to the following conclusion. 1st. The commission to forgive sins was, in regard to the soul, what the charge to heal the sick, here fulfilled by St. Peter, was with respect to the body. 2ndly. It was to be exercised by a specific act, as was the raising of the paralytic. 3rdly. It was to be not declaratory but efficacious. 4thly. It was to be followed by instantaneous effect. The sinner was to be as truly forgiven, on the words being pronounced, as the sick man was well, when he had heard the command to arise. Surely it is only in the Catholic Church that all this has reality; or even that any one believes that there exists, vested in the successors of the Apostles, a power which permits of such a comparison with the cure performed by our blessed Redeemer.

2. It would be wasting our reader's time to endeavour to prove that the leprosy was a fitting emblem of sin. This fitness arises from the character of the disease; it is an uncleanness as well as a malady. It commenced generally by a small spot: if not checked, it increased and spread; it eat into the live flesh, it separated the limbs at the joints, and it finally caused death. It was, moreover, deemed infectious, and thus further resembled sin. But in addition, it was not left to be treated by the physician; but it was placed especially under the jurisdiction of the priests. To them the person, conscious of the disease, had to present, and to denounce, himself. They had the minutest rules to guide them, in forming their judgment, and pronouncing on the complaint. If they did not declare the patient clean, they put off his case for some days longer, and he again submitted to sacerdotal judgment. Even if he were now declared free,

he had to perform certain acts; as washing his garments, before he rejoined his people. But when the defilement was certain, and the disease manifest, he was separated from the people; he wore a peculiar garb; he lived without the camp or city; and he cried out to every passer-by, that he was unclean. Then, if at last restored to health, many mysterious rites had to be performed: the principal or final one of which was, that he should "take a lamb and offer it up as a trespass offering," and "immolate the lamb where the victim for sin is wont to be immolated, and the holocaust; that is, in the holy place."[i] All this was done after the leper had been allowed to return to the communion of his fellow-citizens.

We cannot be surprised that the ancient Church should universally have considered this malady as the most natural type of sin in the individual; as the privations of sense in our former classification were, of the sin of the whole race. Leprosy and sin are almost synonymous in ecclesiastical language, even where the bodily affection itself was unknown. But to see fully the accuracy of the resemblance, we should view it as demonstrated in the discipline of the ancient Church. There the sinner, as now, when conscious of transgression, presented himself to the priest of God. But in those days of fervour, this minister of justice, as of mercy, took into deliberate consideration the offence committed; and, while he admitted to forgiveness, and slighter works of purification, the lesser offender, sentenced the more guilty to public separation from the faithful, and severe expiation of his crime. His leprosy was revealed to all by his penitential garb; and how strikingly resembling the treatment of the leper must his case have appeared,

[i] Levit. xiii. xiv.

as he stood at the gate of the church, telling all that entered in, that he was a sinner, unworthy to join them in communion of sacred offices. Then, when the time came for pardon, the priest once more spoke, and pronounced him clean: And what was his first act? Surely, as it is now, with every penitent in the Catholic Church, to hasten to the holy place, to assist at the immolation of the Lamb slain for sin, and there partake of the sacred victim. And although that outward separation from the faithful, which served to make the parallel so perfect, has now ceased in the discipline of the Church, yet all that is essential has remained; so that to this day, "to distinguish between leprosy and leprosy," is a familiar expression in writers instructing the priest, how to discern, and deal with, sin.

It will not be surprising that our Saviour should have dealt with this distemper as distinct from other ailments. The cleansing of lepers is distinguished from other works of power, both in the narrations of the Evangelists, and in His own enumeration of such acts.[k] In His commission to His apostles, this is mentioned as one of the powers committed to them. But He was pleased to show, how He did not allow even the exercise of His miraculous power to supersede the provisions of His law. Accordingly we find, that in every instance, distinctly recorded of His healing this complaint, He sends the patients to the priest, to receive from him, ratification as it were, of the cure which He had performed. Whether He first completed it, or left the recovery to appear after, He gave them the same command.[l] Now if leprosy represented sin, and the miraculous healing of it showed

[k] Matt. x. 8; xi. 5; Luke vii. 22.

[l] Matt. viii. 4; Mark i. 44; Luke v. 14; xvii. 12.

forth the pardon of sin in the Church, this peculiar attention to the law which over Him had no force, most aptly serves to complete the resemblance; by showing how, if even in the figure He would have the interposition of the priestly ministry, so much more does He require it, in the fulfilment, which He has made one of the very highest duties and prerogatives of the sacerdotal office.

In describing the treatment of sin in the Church, compared with the treatment of leprosy in the old law, we have shown how exactly the type finds its accomplishment in the former. And we see how the inward cleansing from sin, by the word of the priest, corresponds exactly with the action of Christ, when, in commanding phrase, he simply says: "I will: be made clean." But if it is exclusively a Catholic practice and doctrine thus to make forgiveness of sin dependent on the exercise of an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; if it be solely with us that the leper must come before him who has to heal him, and declare himself unclean, as such did with our Lord; how boldly Catholic is that further analogy with what He practised, which consists in compelling even those whom God Himself has pardoned, to show themselves to His priests, make known even forgiven transgression, and hear his sentence, though in this case anticipated, rather than ratified, in heaven. For while no one, even in the Anglican system, dares to make confession compulsory, in even extreme cases, but some admit it as one mode of obtaining pardon, the Catholic Church admits of no exception. Let the sinner, pierced, not by lightning of God's judgment, but by the very arrows of His love; plunged, not into an abyss of despair, but into an ocean of sweetest confidence, burst his very heart in penitent sorrow;

let it be full and deep as that of David, when Nathan pronounced his forgiveness:[m] tender and gushing as that of Magdalene, when Jesus spoke her pardon: let it be that perfect contrition which bespeaks instant remission; yet he hears a voice, as he rises from the outpouring of his grief, which tells him: "Go, show thyself to the priest." He knows it has been a condition of his forgiveness (if he can presume to hope it has been already granted), that he should submit to the keys of the Church, manifest his past frailty, and receive the only assurance of reconciliation and restored grace, in this life — the absolution of Christ's minister. In fact, so perfectly does the Church Catholic act up to this example of her Lord, and believe in the lesson which He gave for curing the leprosy, that she admits no contrition to be perfect, which does not contain confession *in voto*, in desire and intention. Most faithfully, then, does she copy His practice, in exercising the marvellous power confided to her, of healing the leprosy of the soul.

3. It would seem to us even more superfluous than in our last illustration of sacramental penance, to trace the resemblance between its exercise, and the raising by our Lord of the dead to life. A few brief remarks will suffice to sketch it, as peculiarly belonging to us.

One of the offices of the Holy Spirit in the Church, is to "convince the world of sin,"[n] that is, among other effects, to give a right understanding of its nature. In the Old Law it was merely considered as a transgression, a violation of a precept, for which anger and punishment were to be expected from God. The inward havoc of sin in the soul is not to be found described or alluded to, even in the fervent outpourings

[m] 2 Reg. xii. 13. [n] John xvi. 8, 9.

of sorrow which David first manifested. The spiritual life, as we have before observed, was but obscurely and imperfectly understood. If we may use so strong an expression, sin, once committed, was external to the sinner, it was a reckoning which he had to make with God. It lay at his door,[o] it would be a lion on his path,[p] but it was not the inward domestic enemy; it was not disease, canker, blight, and ruin. With the doctrine of Grace, which Christianity first revealed, came the knowledge that the soul has a life by that gift, the loss of which involves spiritual death. And Grace is forfeited by deadly sin. This is a language familiar to a Catholic child, taught in every catechism; hence, to the eye of faith, a soul in such guilt is as truly dead as is a corpse to that of the body: and the contemplation of it, moving amidst the occupations and affections of life, presents as hideous a spectacle as would a body with unmoving features, sunless eyes, blanched lips, and icy limbs, gliding silent through the merry dance. There is a reality attached to this thought of spiritual death, in a Catholic mind, which shows itself in many ways. For example, a mother like St. Monica does not express "her regret that her dear son should be so wild, but hopes he will become steadier," as many a modern parent would speak of the *vices* of a son, and think she had paid a tribute to virtue; but she weeps bitter tears, and follows him from land to land, and fasts and prays, and pines in grief; and why? Her son expresses it to the life: "Me multos annos fleverat, ut oculis suis viverem."[q] She believed, nay she knew, him to be spiritually dead; and she wept over him as a widow does over her dead only child. Hence, the Church most becomingly

[o] Gen. iv. 3. [p] Ecclus. xxvii. 11, 31; xxviii. 27.

[q] Confess. lib. ix. c. 12.

appropriates to her festival (May 4th), the history of Christ's raising the son of the widow of Naim,[r] as beautifully symbolical of the conversion of her son; and further reads his own commentary upon it, in the office, applying the narrative to the restoration of the soul to life. And what else is the secret of penitent grief, such as St. John Climacus describes among the solitaries of Egypt, such as every Charter-house, or Cistercian abbey could exhibit, and yet does; where men, who have every reason to hope that pardon has been vouchsafed them, will continue, for long years, to mourn and do penance; but that deep earnest conviction of sin and its detestable enormity, which makes them loathe its defilement, abhor its impiety, and dread its deadly stroke? which from very love of God, makes the estrangement from Him which it causes, the deadly cold obstruction which it opposes to his life-giving graces, a state as fearful as that of bodily dissolution and corruption?

This sentiment is not to be found in Protestantism; it is contrary to its very first principles. First; such effects as we have described, are not witnessed nor approved there. To weep, to mourn, to afflict the body, to fast, are *works*, and are familiarly considered opposed to justification by faith. Hence there is no provision for them; no religious solitudes, no penitential communities, are to be found where Protestantism prevails. As things to be plundered, stripped and beaten down, it knows of them; but not as things to be admired and upheld. Hence, secondly, it is astonishing how easily a load of sins is supposed, in the Protestant, and consequently in the Anglican, system, to be got rid of. Suppose a man, a noble one for example, to have been notorious, through years, for

[r] Luke vii. 11.

open and scandalous vice, addicted to shameless immoralities before the world: well, if growing gray, he begins to go about the neighbourhood in his phaeton, leaving Bibles at every cottage, and giving tracts to every village dame, and fits up the family pew, and becomes president of the county auxiliary Bible Society, and presides at May meetings in the season, the scarlet of his youthful sins becomes at once white as his locks of snow; and no one, any more than himself, thinks of sorrow and tears, as having been necessary to make him—a saint. But, thirdly, we find a marked abhorrence in Protestant writers, of the distinction between mortal and venial sin. They reject the very idea of there being such a thing: they hold the Stoic maxim that "all sins are equal."[8] What is the necessary consequence? That there is no apprehension of any deadly character in *any* sin. For who can bring himself to imagine, that a passing thought of anger, or a hurried word of impatience, or a trifling act of unkindness, kills the soul and robs it of grace? Then, how can the more grievous act of deliberate crime do so, seeing that it is no greater sin? There is only one escape, that such failings as we have mentioned are not sins at all; and hence comes a dulness of conscience, and a heaviness of perception, respecting sin, which soon extends to more heinous transgressions. For the greatest security against mortal, is the dread of venial offences.

The view, then, of sin, which makes death its most perfect symbol, even in this life, is distinctly Catholic. And thus the raising of the dead is most eminently representative, with us, of the ministerial power to forgive the sinner. Hence, in the three instances of resurrection recorded in the Gospel, there is scarcely a

[8] Cicero, *Paradoxa.*

circumstance related which does not strike the Catholic's mind, as containing an analogy with what he sees in the sacrament of penance. And they whose ministry is employed in it, will, more than others, feel the resemblances. We will rapidly enumerate them.

1. There are three dead raised, each of whom represents a different class of sinners. The first is just dead — the beginning of sin: the second is being carried to the grave — the commencing of habitual transgression: the third is buried and lying in corruption — the obstinate and forgetful sinner. With each of these the priest has to deal; and he finds in each a practical lesson.

2. The first is indeed a corpse, but the minstrel and the multitude are still around it — the world and its vanities ministering to the dead spirit! When he that would raise it to life approaches it, and speaks of his wish, they laugh him to scorn. They must be put away; silence and quiet are necessary to raise the soul. Peter is there with his keys, James with his earnest zeal, and John with his gentle charity. A kindly hand is stretched out, and in the power of that hand, the dead one rises. And what shall be done next with her, that is, with the soul? He who has raised her, "bids them give her to eat."[t] As there was a banquet when the prodigal returned, as there was feasting and rejoicing when the stray sheep was brought back, so surely must there be a rich and dainty repast, to refresh the dear daughter of the house, restored to life. Did the mother spare, that day, her sweetest confections? Did the ruler of the synagogue stint of his richest cellarage, to warm his child's frame, or to make his congratulating guests

[t] Matt. ix. 23; Luke viii. 55. Compare the two accounts.

rejoice? And shall the Church, to whose motherly care the revived soul is committed, be less parent-like than they? Will not she have her banquet too, ready? and for the hour, is not she the dearest to her, who has been the most cruelly severed from her, of her children? and is not the feast for her especially? Surely so, as it was for the prodigal. And how strange, but how beautiful, that, as if intending to show us the identity of the two lessons, in the parable and the miracle, our Lord should have made the prodigal's father say: "Let us eat and make merry; because *this my son was dead, and is come to life again;* was lost, and is found."[u] The dead raised, and the prodigal returned, are one and the same: and both must be refreshed and feasted. This is, indeed, what the Catholic Church alone understands.

3. The second has left home, the house of the weeping mother: strong ones are bearing him to the grave. A stronger hand must arrest them in this cruel errand. At its touch, they that carry must needs stand still: a more powerful command is uttered, and the dead youth rises from his bier. What shall be done with *him?* What the Samaritan did with the poor wounded man, after he had dressed his wounds. He gave him in charge to the innkeeper, to provide for all his wants. And here there is one by, the one by whose tears Jesus was moved to exert His power, far better than the innkeeper—for she is his mother. "And He gave him to his mother."[x] There is something inexpressibly sweet in this expression. Was he not hers before? Had death broken the filial tie, and did it need to be renewed? No, but a new and tenderer relation was established: by birth she had rights over him; but the second life which Jesus bestowed

[u] Luke xv. 24. [x] Ib. vii. 15.

was His: and His rights He resigned to her. He was to be doubly her child, because he was a second time given to her by Him: and he had, from henceforward, to pay to her the gratitude, the obedience, and the filial love, which He might have claimed for Himself. Yes, truly; He has given repentant sinners to His Church, as the tenderest part of her charge. And to the ear of loving children there is an undersound in this phrase, mystically soothing and consoling. "And He gave him to his mother," sounds so like a prelude to the sweetest words ever uttered on Calvary? For how else could He *give* a son to his mother, but by saying:—"Woman, behold thy son?"[y]

4. Finally, Lazarus has been four days in the grave: "Quatriduanus est, jam fœtet," say his own sisters, who are not likely to exaggerate the foulness of his condition. And here groans and supplications are necessary, and the uplifting of heavy obstructions, and the drawing forth from corruption of the dead thing, that once was a living man, by a strong command; and then comes the loosing him from his bands, as he starts to life. How distinctly allusive to the power to bind and to loose are these words:—"And presently he that had been dead came forth, *bound* feet and hands with winding-bands, and his face was *bound* about with a napkin. Jesus said to them: *Loose* him, and let him go."[z] He did not do so Himself, but He commissioned others. *They* have to loose for Him those bound in the *laquei mortis*,—"the toils of death." And where do we next meet Lazarus? Precisely where we might expect. At Bethania "they made Jesus a supper, and Martha served; but *Lazarus was one of them that was at table with Him.*"[a] It is

[y] John xix. 26. [z] Ib. xi. 44. [a] Ib. xii. 2.

always the same—the banquet for the recovered dear one. But here it is quite defined: he who a few days before was dead, was lying reeking in corruption—even he is at table with Jesus. O holy, sweet, loving Church of God! How we recognise thee at every step, in the workings of love divine among men! Unchanged as Himself, thy Spouse and Master, forgetting not one of His examples, dropping not one of His blessed words, how dost thou renew, day by day, the beauty of His character reflected in thee, and the splendour of His institutions, ever fresh in thy right hand!

It is an invidious, and we sincerely believe, a hopeless task, to examine the claims of others to similar coincidences. They may say that all these minute comparisons are fanciful and arbitrary. There is an easy test. Show that they can be made in some other system, and we will own it. If not, whence comes it that the Catholic system alone,—yea, the corrupt, the superstitious, the silly, the unspiritual system of Popery,—should furnish throughout, not a faint resemblance, but a minute, distinct, and lively counterpart, to what our Saviour did in His greatest works on earth?

III. *Extreme Unction.*—It is worthy of note, that St. Mark, who generally is considered to follow closely St. Matthew, should alone have preserved for us three instances of cures by external rites. Two we have already seen, in the restoring to health of a blind, and of a deaf and dumb, man.[b] The third remains; and to Catholics is most interesting. It is the following:—The apostles "cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."[c] This calls to mind the well-known text of St. James:—

[b] Ib. vii. 34; viii. 23. [c] Mark vi. 13.

"Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him."[d] The resemblance of this text, of St. Mark's narrative, suggests at once to the Catholic the type of Extreme Unction in these first apostolic miracles. A few remarks will here suffice.

1. We do not find recorded anywhere, directions from our Saviour to His apostles, to use this means of cure. Yet though three Evangelists (including St. Mark) give us in detail His instructions, and this practice of anointing is not mentioned by any, we cannot hesitate for a moment to believe that it was prescribed by Himself. This will show us how His institution must be assumed in other cases, where we find practised by His disciples what we do not read to have been commanded. When, therefore, St. James enjoins, unhesitatingly, the anointing by the priest, as to be followed by remission of sins; as we must suppose the miraculous cures wrought by the unction, to be proof of divine appointment, so we may well conclude, that the more wonderful effect of forgiveness of sins could not have been attributed to the same act, unless an equally supreme sanction and promise had been attached to it. It was, therefore, a sacramental action; and as such permanent.

2. We may consider this an established principle, that what was instituted for men's souls was to remain; what was instituted for their temporal benefits was temporary. We have an example in the appointment of deacons. On the face of the institution, it was to serve a merely casual and secular

[d] James v. 14. [e] Acts vi. 2.

purpose, "to serve tables," or distribute alms.[e] But it becomes evident from St. Paul's description of the diaconal character,[f] that they who received it were invested with an ecclesiastical dignity; and they were ordained by imposition of the apostles' hands.[g] The Anglican establishment has reasoned wisely in this case, that, though the temporal functions of the deacons have ceased, it does not follow that the institution itself ended with them, even though they were the immediate cause of the appointment. What was temporal was temporary, and no longer continues; but the spiritual gifts and duties subsist to the end. In like manner it has reasoned rightly (though it has sadly failed in application of its reasoning), that what was *purely* miraculous in divine commission, was a personal gift to the apostles; what was of spiritual benefit to the Church, was to descend to their successors. But it could not see in St. James's text the same distinction, and separate the spiritual benefits of forgiveness of sins, from the raising up of the sick man; and consider the one as enduring, the other as, *perhaps*, temporary. Yet a clear analogy would have led any one of sense, unblinded by puritanical hatred of forms, so to conclude.

3. But the Catholic Church has no need of such explanations. She takes the text as it is; as the fulfilment of the whole of Christ's promise. The apostles are to do His works, and greater than His visible works; and in the Catholic doctrine of Extreme Unction, this is believed by us to be done. That bodily health is frequently restored by it, no experienced priest doubts from his own observation, independently of the Church's teaching. This is the work equal to Christ's. That sins are forgiven by the sacrament, no

[f] 1 Tim. iii. 8. [g] Acts vi. 6.

Catholic is allowed to doubt. This is the work greater than men saw Him do on earth. It was the same when St. James wrote. The miraculous, the visible, the striking effect was allowed to continue the more marked and attractive. But who that judges, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual,"[h] will for a moment imagine, that in St. James's mind, the raising to health could have been considered a primary effect of any institution or rite, which at the same time gave pardon of sin? Or that this, when certain of effect, and consequently most salutary to man, could ever have been held secondary to the healing of the body? Those who have seen that beautiful spectacle, the sudden kindling up of St. Peter's in Rome, at Easter night's illumination, will remember how in each lamp was a heap of light inflammable materials, which, touched by the torch, instantly blazed brilliantly forth, but quickly faded. This was not the lamp destined to burn through the night, but was only meant to light this up. For when the first flash had subsided, the steady light which succeeded it, though far less dazzling, fed upon unfailing nourishment, and, in spite of wind or rain, burnt unflinching to the end. Such was this, such were other institutions. Two lights were kindled at the same moment; but one obscured, or over-shone the other. The first was the brilliant, miraculous gift; that of tongues in Confirmation, that of healing in Extreme Unction. These gifts were made for a time, and proved the reality of that constant, perpetual grace, which was for the while obscured by them. And when they were withdrawn, they left that other undying flame burning as brightly as at the beginning; for its invisible, unfailing oil, is the unction of the Anointed.

[h] 1 Cor. ii. 13.

IV. *The Blessed Eucharist.* It would indeed have been strange, if miracles had been wanting to foreshow the miracle of spiritual miracles. But there are such, and most splendid, most perfect, and most beautifully illustrative of the Catholic doctrine. We will dwell upon these, though not at the length which the importance of the subject deserves.

1. Our blessed Lord Himself has furnished us with a clue to the connection between the first and His own institution. He who did nothing without a design, intended to communicate His doctrine respecting this food of life; and by way of preliminary, He led the people into the wilderness like Moses, and there miraculously fed them. Five thousand men, besides women and children, were fully satisfied with five loaves and two fishes. Nor was the feast exhausted. Twelve baskets of fragments of bread remained; and who doubts that these would have sufficed, as well as the original loaves, to feed as many more? The people saw the analogy between this feast, and that of manna in the desert; and through it, our Saviour led them to His heavenly discourse on the B. Eucharist. The three first Evangelists record this miracle, but not the doctrinal teaching which resulted from it.[i] Two of them relate a similar miracle, where four thousand were similarly fed.[k] The repetition of a miracle of such magnitude, seems intended, as it is calculated, to fix our thoughts upon it.

First. We must be struck with the motive of the miracle—it was compassion: "I have compassion on the multitude." Who but the Catholic familiarly calls the Eucharist the "Sacrament of Love?" It is to others a commemorative right, intended to revive the

[i] Matt. xiv. 15; Mark vi. 42; Luke ix. 16; John vi. 11.
[k] Matt. xv. 32; Mark viii. 6.

memory of Christ's passion. But as an outpouring of divine affection, as the communication of God's love to man, it is only by us that it is regarded. We consider it instituted out of compassionate love for man, as medicine, as food, as a dainty, as support, as treasures, to strengthen and cheer him in the desert of this barren life.

Secondly. This miracle was not an individual one; not a prerogative or favour. It required no particular state, beyond appetite or desire, to receive it. Food was given to the strong man as to the feeble, to the healthy as to the sickly, to the young as to the old, to the rich as to the poor. One relished it keenly, another barely took it as sustenance; one enjoyed its flavour, another seemed scarcely to taste it. One expressed himself warmly in gratitude, another appeared barely thankful. But there it was for all, for the mere asking; and when it was over, it was hardly a thing to talk about. One would hardly boast of having partaken of that bread, as one would of having been restored to sight by Jesus; and men would not have gone to a distance to see a person who had eaten of that miraculous food, as they went to Bethania to see Lazarus, raised from the dead.[1] And this, because the miracle left no visible evidence after it; because it was for the benefit of so many (which only made it the greater), and because it bore such a homely aspect. Such also is the feeling with regard to the blessed Eucharist. Its wonderful mysterious effects do not strike, nor unhappily excite the gratitude and admiration it deserves. But, like the bread of the desert, it is the food for all—"sumit unus, sumunt mille"—and it is partaken of by all manner of characters,—the fervent and the lukewarm, the strong

[1] John xii. 9.

in grace and the feeble in desire the rich in virtue, and the poor.

Thirdly. In this miracle, our Saviour does not act beyond, by His blessing, multiplying the bread. Its distribution He leaves to His apostles. They arrange the throng, they carry round the food, they give to each his share, they satisfy all, they treasure up the fragments; and lo! wonder of wonders; they reserve as much as they began with—the self-same food is ready for the next comers; and they may come in thousands, and it shall suffice.

Fourthly. The miracle thus meets one of the most popular objections against the Catholic doctrine concerning this sacrament, that many partake of the same food at the same time—"nec sumptus consumitur." For it is not said that our Lord created new bread, nor dilated what there was, so to speak. From beginning to end of the banquet, they were the same five loaves and two fishes, which were eaten by this hungry crowd, and the fragments left would have made up the same loaves and fishes again. Any other theory alters the character of the miracle. It would not be that our Lord fed 5,000 people *with five loaves*, but that having *but* five loaves, he created, say 4,995 more, to give each person one. In that case, there being five loaves at the beginning had nothing to do with the miracle; this consists in the creating of the others. Then, according to the Gospel narrative, more than five thousand persons were actually eating the same food, and each one had enough, and it was not consumed. How was this? The Catholic answer is plain and simple; in the same manner as it happens every day in the blessed Eucharist. One miracle is a counterpart to the other.

2. Another great objection to the Catholic doctrine

of the Blessed Eucharist, is directed against Transubstantiation. The change of one substance into another seems opposed to all our notions. And yet we believe modern chemistry is fast approaching to conclusions which will greatly modify that old pretended contradiction of science. Such a change is no doubt miraculous; and against this perpetuation of miracles Protestantism protests. But that is of its essence. Our dear Lord, therefore, was pleased to make the evidencing of such a transubstantiation His very first miracle.[m] We will make but a few remarks upon it.

First. It was at a feast that He was first pleased to manifest Himself to the world. It was by a feast that He closed His ministerial career. At that first feast at Cana, He emerged from His first state, His hidden life; at the second, He passed again into its last stage, its sorrowful and afflicted close. The first was a marriage feast: and what was the last? Let loving spouses, like St. Catharine, or St. Rose, or St. Juliana answer. What must that feast be, at which, for the first time, is poured forth the "vinum germinans virgines?" How like are these two feasts!

Secondly. At the first feast the wine fails. Of water there is abundance; but the nobler beverage is wanting. How is the desire of the guests to be satisfied? By changing the ignoble into the noble, the water into wine. Here is the first stage of change, the first exercise of the transmuting power. What must the next naturally be? Wine was the richest, most generous, most invigorating of nature's productions. Earth could yield nothing more excellent than the vine and its fruit. The water, which filtering through the earth, is caught by its roots, elaborated into its sap, distilled into its grape, and there sweetened by the

[m] John ii. 9.

sun, is raised in nature and qualities, in the estimation of men. Our blessed Lord, by one simple action, gave it that higher existence. Then *it* must now be changed again at the second feast. And for whom? For *us* who want—not wine, not earthly growth, of any sort. Man was surfeited of that, and called for better refreshment. If the first transubstantiation was so great and so worthy of the power that made it, what shall we find, into which the wine itself shall be changed? There is but one stream, a draught from which would refresh, renew, revive our fainting race; but who shall dare to ask it? It was of "the water out of the cistern that is in Bethlehem" (the house of bread), that David longed to drink; but he shuddered to partake, saying: "The Lord be merciful to me, that I may not do this: shall I drink the blood of these men?"[n] And it is from the well-spring of Bethlehem that we too thirst to drink; but we must not shrink from the awful draught—the priceless *blood* of Him that opens it. No, there is only one change more that can be made; the wine must become a living flow from His divine heart. Only thus shall the second feast surpass the first.

Thirdly. But it will be said: "In the first miracle the change was visible, was tested by the senses; in the second, as Catholics believe it, this evidence is wanting. Here your parallel fails." Quite the contrary. Hereby is shown the superiority of the second miracle. That which is worthy of a miracle to be its type, is proved thereby of a higher nature. If in the Eucharist the transubstantiation were sensible, there would have needed none to precede it at Cana. The latter would have been so far useless. But it is a much greater and higher miracle to have a change

[n] 2 Reg. xxiii. 17.

made and yet concealed, than to have a visible and patent mutation. The latter could not be an object of faith; and objects of sense belong to the inferior order. The change was once made visibly, that God's power should be manifested, whenever He should please to make it invisibly. They who gainsay it in the latter case, say to Him: "*Let it be as it was at Cana, and we will believe Thee: but in our theory they only are blessed who believe because they see.*"[o]

3. The Eucharist, according to Catholic doctrine, perpetuates the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ on earth. He is in it, God and Man, in the fulness of His perfections. One remarkable quality of His sacred Person, when He lived a visible man, was, that virtue ever went from Him, and healed all.[p] This unceasing flow of miraculous energy, this atmosphere of life which invested Him, as with a robe of majesty, the Church verifies, and may be said daily to feel. It is indeed hard to make this understood, for it belongs to the hidden influences of religion, more to be felt than to be expressed. But devout souls will know our meaning; they will have experienced the fervour, the peace, the confidence, the love which the mere presence of the B. Sacrament inspires, in prayer and meditation; the soothing and tranquillizing influence which It has on their troubled, and agitated, or anxious minds. What religious community would stand the privation of this society? On what would

[o] Of *Matrimony* we will content ourselves with saying, that the Catholic rite is singularly and beautifully interwoven with the Mass or Eucharistic sacrifice, only similarly interrupted for the hallowing of the sacramental oils; as though to copy our Lord's example, of uniting the marriage-feast with the foreshadowing of the sacrament of the altar.

[p] Matt. ix. 20; xiv. 36; Mark iii. 10; v. 30; Luke viii. 46.

the chaste love of the spouses of Jesus live, if they had not Him near them, and if after the Martha-like duties of their charity towards men, they could not often take the place of Mary at His feet, and there, in silent contemplation of His mercy, and graciousness, and loveliness, repair the slight distractions of the day, and refill their lamps with that love of God, which burns outwardly as charity for man?

That this influence of this adorable mystery is real, and not imaginary, is proved by its effects on those who know nothing of it. We could mention several cases of conversion from it; we will content ourselves with two, because we received them both from the mouths of those whom they regard.

The first is that of the late worthy and pious priest, the Rev. Mr. Mason. He had been a Wesleyan preacher for some years, and we heard him declare in a public sermon, to a large congregation, that his conversion was due mainly to this; that whenever he entered a Catholic church or chapel, he felt himself awed, hushed to silence, and compelled to kneel in adoration, though no worship was going on; whereas, in his own meeting-house, he never experienced any such feelings. Yet he was totally unconscious of the cause; and when he learnt the Catholic belief and practice, in regard to the B. Eucharist, he was so convinced of the adequacy of the cause of his emotions, that he hesitated not to yield to their evidence, and became a Catholic.

The second is that of the Baroness K——, well known to many for her abilities, her piety, and her many good works. She was a German Protestant, strongly imbued with prejudices against the Catholic religion. Coming to Rome, she entered the church of the Perpetual Adoration, where the B. Sacrament is

exposed to worship the whole day. She saw many people, in silent prayer, bowed down, or gazing intently towards the altar. Ignorant of the object which engaged their attention, observing only a multitude of lights upon the altar, but as yet without sense of His presence, "who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks,"[q] she exclaimed: "Good God! surely these people are not adoring those tapers!" But she found herself, in spite of herself, gently forced upon her knees, and compelled to worship—she knew not what. She returned again and again, marvellously attracted, and ever with the same effect. It was a year before she discovered the truth, and became aware Who was there; and with gushing tears did she deplore to us, that year, as she called it, of grace resisted, and of time lost.

To some, perhaps to many, of our readers, these things will sound foolish and fanatical; but there is a phrase that accounts for this. When Nathaniel would not believe that the Messiah could come from Nazareth, "Philip saith to him, *Come and see.*"[r] And to this there is a corresponding one in the Old Testament: "Taste and see how sweet is the Lord."[s] We have known a convert whom God soon transferred from her life of suffering, but of joy, here below, to one of unclouded bliss above, whom conversion at once changed from a pleasure-seeking worldling, into a devout and cheerful servant of God; who when debarred, herself, from approaching to holy communion, would gently draw close to those who came from receiving it, and feel a glow of comfort and a ray of happiness shed into her own heart—the virtue going forth from the sacred humanity

[q] Apoc. ii. 1. [r] John ii. 40.

[s] Ps. xxxiii. 9.

of Jesus, even though lodged in a frail tabernacle of clay.

"Expertus potest credere
Quid sit Jesum diligere."

But if this experience of the children of the household be scarcely intelligible to those without, what shall we say of another experience, most awful to think of—that of fear of this latent virtue? It will be hardly credited, but we know it on the best authority, that persons wavering in the Anglican establishment, and leaning strongly towards Catholicity, are forbidden, by what they call their directors, ever to enter into any chapel in which the B. Sacrament is kept! In other words, they fear lest Jesus Christ Himself, in whose presence they profess to believe, should entice them by His sweetness, from a system which has lost Him. They dare not trust one of their flock to *His* guidance!

But, drawing now our remarks to a close, we will observe, that in the Catholic Church all is true, real, and consistent. Not a promise of our Lord's there falls through. If he gave the power of miracles to His Apostles, it was coupled with the greater power of working spiritual wonders; and while that first faculty is not withdrawn, but reserved for occasions that require it, the other is permanent and of daily use. The Catholic mind becomes as familiar with this, as we all do with the wonders of nature. "My Father worketh until now; and I work,"[t] says our divine Redeemer. Their work is one, but its operations are divided. What the Father doth in the order of nature, the Son performs in the order of grace. To us, each is equally real, as equally invi-

[t] John v. 17.

sible. The One speaks to the waters of the deep, and they teem with life, and send forth the birds, and the creeping things of the earth; the Other breathes upon them, and they give to grace a new progeny, a regenerated humanity. The One commands the winds, and they pass over the earth, rough or gentle at will, but always cleansing, renewing, and recreating; the Other sends His Spirit upon the soul, and He, breathing where and how He willeth, purges, and frees from corruption the spiritual being, and renovates its fading life. The One, with kindly look, lights up the heavens with gladness, and feeds the sun's unfailing radiance; the Other casts His fire upon the earth, and straightway it is enkindled: it sparkles through the soul, like a vivid electric dart in the youth, as he kneels to receive the Holy Ghost; it is strongly but steadily lighted in the sacerdotal breast, for a beacon, set on high, to guide frail barks to a safe haven; as a furnace, in which every passion has to be consumed and every virtue annealed; as a cheering domestic glow, round which the child and the old man will gladly gather for warmth. The One diffuses life through all nature; sends His seasons and their various energies to earth; distributes its shower and its dew, vivifies the corrupting grain, and makes it shoot forth bread for man, and sends through the plant its nourishing juices, to come out first fair in blossom, and then salubrious in fruit: the Other sows on earth a corn and a wine, that gladden the heart of man; scatters His harvest and His vintage over his Church, and with their unfailing succulency, feeds, sustains, cheers, and refreshes the unseen world of the spirit, the immortal part and being of man.

We can see nothing to disbelieve in the one, more than in the other series of marvellous operations,—

God is in both; the same power, the same wisdom, and the same love. This is the Catholic's simple thought; he believes the order of grace to be as real as that of nature; holds the existence of a spiritual, as much as of a physical, life. He believes that Jesus Christ has promised to be *with* His Church *all days* to the end of the world;[u] and he cannot understand this in any other sense, than in one becoming Him, as promising, not a distant superintendence, nor an occasional assistance, but a close and intimate association, and a daily by-standing, to borrow an expressive word.[x] *Ego operor*,—"I work," is His invaluable word; and this accounts for any amount of superhuman agency in the Church. "Peter baptizes," says St. Augustine;—"it is Christ that baptizes. Judas baptizes; it is Christ that baptizes." And so it is in all other sacramental mysteries. The hand that blesses is Christ's; the hand that consecrates is Christ's; the hand that anoints is Christ's; the hand that absolves is Christ's;—the same hand that touched the eyes, and they saw; that was laid on the sick, and they arose; that took hold of the dead, and he lived. This realization in fact of our divine Lord's presence in His Church, as an active, daily, and hourly truth, forms the difference between Catholic and Protestant belief on the Church. Thus Protestants can imagine the Church disunited—the note of unity in abeyance, as was lately said—then Christ is not there. For He cannot be disunited. His presence must be conceived to be a mere theoretical one, not an incorporation of Himself with the Church. They can believe her, even in general councils, to err. Then Christ is not really there *with* her. He is not truly in the midst of the more than two or

[u] Matt. xxviii. 20. [x] *Beistand* (Germ.), assistance.

three gathered together in His name. They can believe in no inherent virtue in the B. Eucharist, and repudiate its adoration. Then He is not truly there present. In fine, they have no confidence in their own sacerdotal functions; they *dare* not ask for absolution from *any* clergyman, but only from certain initiated men, like those admitted to the mysteries of old: then Christ is not in the ministerial act, but comes into it through the godliness of the minister. But, to the Catholic, this assistance is actual on our Lord's part; it is not a theory, but a fact; and he believes in it as naturally as he does in God's providence, of which it is only a specific operation. Hence these wonderful effects of the Church's ministrations cease to be in his eyes miracles; they are only dispensations of grace.

And in truth, if further we consider what is a miracle, we shall find that it bears a twofold aspect,—the Jewish and the Christian. The perversity of the Jews consisted in a call for signs that could be *seen*. "Unless you *see* signs and wonders, you believe not,"[y] was our Saviour's reproach to them. "Master," they ask, "we wish to *see* a sign from you."[z] This was the lowest stage of belief; and could only lead to knowledge of that inferior class of wonders, which meets the senses. To this alone Protestantism is able to reach; and even in that it stands on so slippery a downward descent, that it easily falls over into the gulf of rationalism and infidelity. It calls ever out for the testimony of its eyes, just like the Jews. But the Christian rule of faith is very different. "Faith comes from *hearing*,"[a] and not from seeing; and this is the Catholic evidence. By this alone the true

[y] John iv. 47. [z] Matt. xii. 38.

[a] Rom. x. 17.

wonders of God can be found; by this only are the real miracles of revelation discovered. The Jewish shepherd looked at the manger in Bethlehem, and contemplated its miracles with awe. The heavens had opened to him, and its radiant host had sung for him a wonderful hymn of jubilee; a brilliant star had glided from the east athwart the firmament, and had drawn after it the kings of earth. But to the Christian eye, the real miracle is, that the child in that manger, between an ox and an ass, is "true God of true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made." Before this knowledge, which the sight reveals not, all seen marvels sink into insignificance.

When Jesus was brought before Herod, he wished to *see* Him perform a miracle,[b] and Jesus refused to gratify his insolent curiosity. What fitting miracle could He have wrought under such circumstances? He might most justly have struck the profligate idiot with blindness, as St. Paul did Elymas;[c] and it would have been a just punishment, as well as a true sign. Yet a sign was wrought before him, and a wonder that made angels weep with amazement; and we see it, but that worthless infidel did not. It was the eternal Wisdom clad in a fool's coat, and the Son of God, mocked by a stupid rabble of courtiers—and no fire came down from heaven on them.

When, finally, the cross is raised on Calvary, and the sun is darkened, and the earth quakes, and the mountains are rent, and the veil of the temple is torn, and the dead arise; here surely are miracles and signs enough to satisfy even a Jew's gaping curiosity. But the Christian heeds them not: the greatest of miracles is on that cross. The eclipsing of that Sun of

[b] Luke xxiii. 8. [c] Acts xiii. 8.

Justice;—the quivering of His frame;—the breaking of His heart;—the rending of His humanity;—the death of a God;—absorb all other thoughts and feelings, and make Redemption, the marvel of marvels, alone attended to.

In perfect consistency with this principle, is the Catholic view of the miracles of the New Testament. They are the noble, and the most perfect counterpart of the unseen wonders of the Christian dispensation.

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY.

A.

In republishing this paper, I will add a few notes, to explain more minutely what is popularly stated in the text; as this version has not been much studied.

Ps. lxxviii. (*Heb.*), v. 74 in *Ar.*, 69 *Heb.* and *Gr.* The Hebrew has ויבן כמו־רמים ארצו, which is translated by the Septuagint, *και ᾠκοδομησεν ως μονοκερωτον, κ. τ. λ.* Now the Arabic has اسس علي العلا —"He founded upon high." It is clear this cannot be a translation from the Greek. Again, we may ask, whence could the words "*founded upon*" be taken? From the Hebrew; by changing the ב into כ in יבן, which thus becomes יכן, "he *founded*;" and the כ into ב in כמו; which thus becomes במו, "*upon*," instead of "*as*."

The second illustration, alluded to in the text, is found in the translation of the word רמים. The Greek translator considered it identical with ראמים. According to the Greek, this word occurs four times in the Psalms: twice it is written fully with an א inserted, twice defectively. The two instances of the first case are Ps. xxix. 6, and xcii. (*Heb.*) 10, *Ar.* 11. In the first of these places the Arabic has the very word of the Hebrew, الريم on which ample details will be found in Bochart's Hierozoicon, vol. ii. p. 335. In the second it gives an accurate translation of the Greek word used in both texts—*μονοκερως*, by rendering it وحيد القرن "the one-horned."

The instances of defective orthography of the word are Ps. xxii. 21, *Ar.* 22, and lxxviii. 74: and here the word presents the form

רמים, resembling the plural of רם, "high." Now, though in both these places the Septuagint version has μονοκερως, the Arabic has *high*. In the first passage it reads, "and from the horn *raised* upon my lowliness." On the second text, I have already remarked that the translator seems to have had the Hebrew before him; and this confirms it: for here again he translates by *high*.—"He has founded on high." And although Aquila has ὑψηλως, and Symmachus ὡς τα ὑψηλα, yet neither of these is represented in our version.

It appears, therefore, that in the two places where the word is written full, the Arabic version agrees with the Greek; where it is defective, it gives a translation only derivable from the Hebrew. It is right, however, to mention, that the same phenomenon is to be found in the Syriac Peshito.

The Arabic version published by Walton in his Polyglot, agrees with the LXX in all four places.

B.

This verse suggests an interesting critical discussion, affecting not only the Arabic version, but the Vulgate. The Hebrew has אזנים כרית לי, "Thou has pierced [or opened] mine ears."

The Septuagint, followed by St. Paul (Heb. x. 5), Σωμα δε κατηρτισω μοι.

The Vulgate has, "Aures autem perfecisti mihi."

Finally, the Arabic version before us,—

صنعتَ لي جسداً وفتحتَ مسامعي

"Thou hast made me a body, and Thou hast opened mine ears."

To begin with the Vulgate. Through the entire Psalm, it is evidently translated from the Greek, without the slightest intervention of the Hebrew. Yet in this verse, and in it alone, it deserts the Greek, and, in part at least, approaches to the Hebrew. So likewise does the translator of St. Irenæus. But this approximation is more apparent, perhaps, than real. It seems to lie in two words,—"*aures*" and "*perfecisti*."

1. *Aures*. The Mosarabic and Roman Psalters, St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, St. Ambrose, and St. Hilary, read *corpus*. It would thus appear that there is good authority for assimilating the text in this word to the Septuagint; and reading, "Corpus autem perfecisti mihi."

2. *Perfecisti*. All the Latin Fathers use this verb, whether they read *aures* or *corpus*, except St. Ambrose, who, once, in his Commentary, has *præparasti*; though in the same place he also, several times,

reads *perfecisti*. This shows that he considered the two as nearly equivalents:—"Thou hast prepared, or perfected, a body for me." The same Greek verb occurs in the passage in St. Paul, where the Vulgate renders it by *aptasti:* which, again, has the same meaning:—"Thou hast fitted a body to me, or prepared a fitting body for me."

It follows that *perfecisti* corresponds to κατηρτισω, and not to כרית: for the Greek verb means sometimes in Scripture, "to *perfect;*" but the Latin verb never means to "*pierce.*" (*Vide* Schleusner *in voce.*) The Douay version, therefore, which renders it thus: "Thou hast pierced ears for me," is incorrect; and this instance might have been added to those given in the essay on "Catholic Versions."

Proceeding now to the Greek text, we find a variety of readings corresponding to that of the Latin version. Lambert Bos cites a Commentary as reading Ωτια δε μοι κατηρτισω. Nobilius gives all MSS. as unanimous in reading σωμα, except one. But more extensive inquiries have led to further discoveries. For in Parsons's (Holmes's) Septuagint, we have the following note:—σωμα δε] ωτια δε, 39; ωτα δε, 142, 156 (292 marg.). This gives us three MSS. that have "*ears*" in the text.* But all have the same verb, which can only have been applied to "*body:*" and we may therefore conclude that the more general is the correct reading.

And as the same reasoning applies to the Vulgate, we must conclude that originally it was in perfect accordance with the Greek, and the word *aures* is a modern variation.

Finally, to come to our Arabic, it is clear that the translator gives at full both the Hebrew and the Greek texts. And, what makes this more remarkable, the Polyglot version, before mentioned, does the same, though differing in words. I will observe, that a connection between these two Arabic versions is traceable: for instance, in the Psalm before us, the two first verses are identical, except in two words; and the translation in both is peculiar:—"With patience I have hoped in the Lord."

C.

Vv. 13, 14, are as follows:—"Because He is thy God, Him thou shalt adore. The daughters of Tyre shall adore Him." Here, again, are two readings joined. The Hebrew has והשתחוי־לו, "adore Him," in the femin. imper. The LXX has και προσκυνησουσιν αυτῳ θυγατερες

* In the description of MSS., the ones here quoted are thus described:—39, Cod. Dorothæi, ii. membr. sæc. ix.—142, Bib. Aulier. Vindob. Theol. x. membr. pervet. opt. notæ.—156, Bib. Basil. membr. 4° adm. antiq. sine accent. cum vers. lat. interl.—292, Cod. Bib. Medic. num. iii. Plut. vi. opt. notæ membr. in fol. sæc. xi.

Τυρου. Vv. 10, 11, 15, 16 of this Psalm are quite unaccountable. I will give one curious translation in the first of these, which seems plainly to indicate the use of the Hebrew. The translator has made a pause at היכלי, or *βαρεων*; and to make sense, has added a suffix, as he sometimes does (*e. g.* Ps. lxxvii. 69, عليهم—which is neither in the Greek nor in the Hebrew; lvi. 2, lviii. 16). After this, he proceeds:—"The most noble ivory are the instruments of thy splendour" (combs, &c.). The Hebrew for this is שן מני שמחוך; the word in construction with שן having been, as I have observed, detached from it. Now we cannot easily account for this translation, otherwise than by supposing our Arab to have taken מני for a plural noun in construction. In fact the Chaldaic מאן, *vas*, an "utensil," is frequently, if not always written defectively, without the א in the Targum (*e. g.* Gen. xxiv. 53), and in construction would be מני, and correspond to the translation. The next word would necessarily be taken for a noun; and thus we have, "ivory are the instruments of thy gladness." In v. 18, we have the verb in the future, as in the Hebrew; while, in the Greek, it is in the past, without any variation of MS. or Father, except the *αλλος* of St. Chrysostom, who seems to be overlooked in Parsons's collection.

D.

It would be easy to bring a great many proofs of the use of the Peshito in this version. In the Psalm mentioned in the text, this use is continuous. Thus, v. 2, the Hebrew ערפל is translated in the Greek by *γνοφος*; in the Syriac by ܥܪܦܠ the same word as the Hebrew, only in the plural. Contrary to the Lexicons, this word means *clouds*, and not *darkness*. I base this translation on the following grounds:—1. The plural form, here used, excludes the latter meaning. 2. St. Ephrem uses the expression ܥܪܦܠ ܢܗܝܪܐ (Oper. tom. i. p. 9), which can only be translated "a *bright* cloud." Now to this Syriac version alone the plural Arabic وضبان corresponds.

V. 3. Hebrew יהלך, to which corresponds the Greek *προπορευσεται*; the Syriac ܢܬܟܠܝܘܢ *shall consume*; Arabic تتقد *shall burn*.

V. 10. The Greek *μισειτε* agrees with the Hebrew. The Syriac has ܣܢܝ *do hate*; so the Arabic يبغضون.

V. 11. Heb. and Gr. *justis*; Syr. and Arab. *singular*.

To most readers all this will be highly uninteresting, and even unintelligible: but I will venture to offer to the consideration of biblical critics two more curious examples. Ps. cxxxix. (Heb.) 7:—

"If I take the wings *of morning.*" The Greek has, "If I take my wings κατ' ορθον;" or, as the Alexandrine MS. more correctly reads, κατ' ορθρον, *in the morning* (Vulg. *diluculo*). Both the Syr. and Arab. read, "If I take the wings as the eagle's."

Ps. lxxix. (Heb.) 1. The Seventy translate ציים most peculiarly by οπωροφυλακιον (Vulg. *pomorum custodia*). The Syriac has ܚܪܒܬܐ *desolate.* The Arabic has combined the two readings, putting حرابا كالمحبس "*desolate*" (the same word as in the Syriac) "as a prison"—φυλακιον. (Can he have read ὡσπερ φυλακιον?)

It was by this frequent approximation to the Syriac, no doubt, that Michaelis, who calls our translator *Arabs Antiochenus,* was deceived into the idea that his version was made directly and entirely from the Peshito. See his edition of Castelli's Syriac Lexicon, in the words ܚܝܐ, ܒܬܪ, ܙܝܘܐ and ܬܐܛܪ.

LETTERS

TO

JOHN POYNDER, ESQ.

UPON HIS WORK ENTITLED

"POPERY IN ALLIANCE WITH HEATHENISM."

Εἴδομεν, οὐκ ἐξ ἑτέρων
Μύθων ἔχομεν φράσασθαί.
Euripid. Medea, 661.

THE following Letters have been written in haste, amidst the hurry of more important occupation. It would have been easy to prolong them to a much greater extent, and thus meet every page of Mr. Poynder's accusation by a detailed reply. I have, I trust, done quite sufficient to convince any impartial reader, how solid he is in his arguments, and how accurate in his facts. If I have brought forward little that is new, my poverty must be ascribed to the old worn-out theme I have been induced to handle; it is not necessary to purchase a new spear, to tear open the rusty mail in which Mr. Poynder has clothed himself.

LONDON, *Dec. 29*, 1835.

LETTERS

TO

JOHN POYNDER, ESQ.

LETTER THE FIRST.

SIR,—An article in the *Times* newspaper lately called my attention to a work published by you, purporting to establish "the alliance between Popery and heathenism;" and though, from the copious extracts in that journal, I at once saw that you had but given the repetition of a twice-told tale, I was induced to procure your book, and run over its pages. Although occupied with other matters more congenial to my taste, and, I trust, more beneficial to my fellow-Christians than this effusion of your zeal, I have agreed to devote a few hours to record the impression which it has produced upon me, and appeal to your own good taste and undoubted erudition, on the propriety of the course, and the validity of the arguments, which you have thought proper to pursue.

The first feeling excited in me was one not of admiration, but of wonder, at the rich diversity, and marvellous ways, whereby the spirit of charity manifests itself in this country. I had long heard of you in my foreign residence, as of one who devoted his energies to the abolition of self-immolation in India; whose eloquence and learning, inspired by humanity, had striven to snatch the deluded widow from sharing

her husband's pyre. But after this long struggle to abolish the suttee in distant lands, you have resolved to escape from the censure too often cast upon your friends—of going to the east and to the west for objects of charity, while your fellow-subjects are suffering around you; of subscribing to the relief of any victim to inundation in India, while an entire population at your side was writhing under, what Calderon so nervously calls, "the wooden knife of hunger;" and you have now come forward to pour out among your fellow-Christians of Britain, the sweet abundance of fraternal love, which had so long felt no sympathy but for the Ganges or the Burrampooter. But how Proteus-like are the changes which the same spirit of charity doubtless undergoes! You appear before the public no longer as one anxious to extinguish the flames which the Indian widow covets; but, on the contrary, with holy zeal, you snatch up a torch, which long has been smouldering, qualified and directed to put in a blaze the bigotry and fanaticism of one party, and with it the bitter indignation and outraged feelings of another, such as may, like the apocalyptic brand, scorch up, or turn to wormwood, the sacred and beautiful fountains of social and friendly intercourse, at which men of all opinions have for a long time drunk together. And yet doubtless, in the estimation of your pious zeal, this is but a prelude, and a foreshowing, of the lot which idolaters must elsewhere expect.

All this is assuredly, as you tell us in your preface, exceedingly charitable; "for a feeling Christian will express in his words a character of zeal and love" (p. 9); and becomes doubly interesting from seeing how, after having, through one hundred and fifteen pages, called Catholics in every line idolaters, and us

of the priesthood cheats, you feelingly and movingly complain, "with what injustice the Church of Rome charges her younger sister, the Protestant Church, with heresy!" (p. 115.) Little was I prepared for such gentle, fondling expostulation as this; little could I have thought that you held the right calling of names to be so exclusive a monopoly; or that you cared about being considered a heretic by idolaters, or claimed any compassion at our hands. But, Sir, allow me to say, that in the publications of Catholics, or in their sermons, you will not find the name of *heretic* applied to Protestants, however we may consider their doctrines heretical,—and observe there is a great difference between the two;[a] while you in every page of your work call us personally idolaters; and that were any one amongst us to call down the fire of heaven—as you have done—upon any of our fellow-subjects, we should say to him, as was said to others of old:—"Ye know not of whose spirit ye are."

But, to descend from the spirit to the substance of your work, the next impression produced on me in reading it, was a sense of its excessive deficiencies. I was surprised, how, after taking such great pains, as obviously you have done, with the resemblances between our religious practices and those of others in the ancient and modern world, you should have added so little that is new, and overlooked so many coincidences which I think very remarkable. For instance, the custom of hanging the exterior of churches with boughs on festivals, as described by Virgil,—

> Nos delubra Deûm, miseri quibus ultimus esset
> Ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem;

the practice of confession, which Volney maintains to have prevailed in Greece; the form of the sacerdotal

[a] See St. Chrysostom, Hom. ii. de Inc. Nat.

vestments, in which the cope or pluviale is manifestly the Roman dress, with the *latus clavus* on its front; and the amice or *amictus* drawn over the head in some religious orders when proceeding to the altar, manifestly recalls the veiling of the priests' heads in former times, when going to sacrifice,—though, by the bye, copes and hoods are most severely enjoined by the canons of the Church of England to be worn in all cathedral churches and college chapels;[b]—these, and many other peculiarities which I omit, would have greatly enriched your cabinet of comparative religious anatomy, and relieved the monotony of reading "Middleton" over again. Indeed, I am at a loss to account for your omission of the many rich gleanings which Mr. Blunt would have supplied, and for his work not being honoured by insertion in the edifying list of fellow-labourers at the end of your work.

But one new element you have collected, and for it, a little later, I shall thank you from my heart—a comparison of our rites and practices with those of India: at present I have only to complain that your additions of this character have been so scanty. Why not discover some resemblance between us and the Ghebers, which you might easily have done by a few snatches of some of our service? Why not compare our rosary to that of the dervishes, our reliquaries to the fetiches of Africa, our exorcisms to the shamanisms of Tartary? How did you overlook the Grand Lama and his consistory, and the bells on his churches, and the dresses of his priests, and the splendour of his worship; or the Talapoins of Ava, with their noviciate, and profession, and holy vows of poverty? For I can hardly believe that

[b] Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, § 24. Lond. 1827.

the researches and discoveries of Abel Remusat or Pitchaurinsky would have deterred you from so happy and detailed a comparison. And having now extended our connection so far towards the East, how did you overlook the new and striking analogies to be found in the western hemisphere, among the original inhabitants of America? If you had looked into old Acosta, though a Jesuit, you would have seen, in the second part of his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, a chapter on the confession practised by the Mexicans, and another on their communion; as well as a notice of many other practices most obstinately Catholic. Or if you would consult the splendid work on Mexican antiquities published by Aglio, under the munificent auspices of Lord Kingsborough, you would find a very long essay upon this subject, showing such resemblances as lead the author to conjecture, that Christians must have settled in America, long before its discovery by Columbus.

Thus you see, Sir, that I do not shrink from the species of inquiry in which you have indulged, but that I am quite willing to lend my feeble aid towards preventing any other gentleman having to trouble himself with completing what you have begun, and thus to keep our literature unstained by any more names connected with so ungodly a work of zeal! But while I have thus pointed out to you these imperfections in your work, and communicated to you some little additional information upon its subject, I must not conclude this letter without thanking you for the much I have learnt from you, concerning matters on which I had till now considered myself tolerably well informed.

I did not know, till I read your work, that holy water was supposed by us to have the power of

washing out murder, as your most pertinent quotation from Ovid teaches me (p. 20). Neither was I aware, till I there learnt it, that it possesses a narcotic power, and is used to send persons to sleep (p. 97). Nay, to own my ignorance to the full, I did not know that it was at all usual to administer it internally; of which points I think the next edition of the pharmacopœias should have the advantage.

Though I have lived more than half my life in Rome, there are a great many particulars touching its antiquities and customs for which I am indebted exclusively to your book. Thus, I never heard of the "*Maria in triviis*" (p. 32), so common all over the country; and though very familiar with the peasantry, and accustomed to see them pass in crowds every day, when in the country, before the "wooden crosses" or rustic chapels (not altars) at the entrance of their villages, I never saw them indulge in "genuflection and prostration as they passed them," though perhaps they may touch their hats in token of respect; nor did I ever learn that "the poor unenlightened postilions would think that they deserved to be murdered before the end of their journey, if they should omit the accustomed acts of piety prescribed by their priests" (p. 32). Does this mean that the postilions genuflect or prostrate before every cross they meet on the road? I have often seen the church of St. Agnes, and the beautiful statue of the saint to which you allude (p. 41); but I think it would perplex a Phidias to convert a jovial statue of Bacchus, as you say was done by "a little change of drapery," which in ancient Bacchuses is rather scanty, into the modest and touching virgin, standing amidst the flames, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven. But, pray Sir, have you not been puzzling yourself with the statue of

St. Sebastian on the opposite altar, which is so exquisite a work of art, that some have *conjectured* it may once have been an Apollo? The same is to be said of the two Jupiters changed into St. Peters — one by having a new head, and a pair of keys instead of a thunderbolt; the other by being re-cast. This is all new information for the Roman antiquaries, who have never, till now, confirmed this tradition of the *valets de place;* for I suppose only they can have told the tale of the change of heads (p. 41). Your informant, I fear, has mistaken the measurements of St. Leo's altar in St. Peter's, for it is no larger than any of the rest; and in his horror of looking on idols, has transformed SS. Peter and Paul into one angel driving away Attila (p. 55). Perhaps it was the same fear of too narrowly searching into Popish things which led you to place St. Winefred's well in Staffordshire (p. 103). You cannot have read the book which you so severely censure.

I have never met the "prayer in the Romish books of offices, ordered by the rubric to be addressed to the sacred and miraculous picture of St. Veronica" (p. 43); although tolerably conversant with all the rubrics and books of offices. But even if what you say be correct, it is only necessary to understand it rightly to be satisfied. Again, though I have read a good deal on the subject, I never knew, till now, that to be canonized, a person must have wrought miracles while living (p. 33); or that "the creation of saints has become almost as common as that of cardinals" (p. 35); for I have seen some scores of cardinals made in my life, but not one saint canonized.[c]

But the most important accession of knowle[illegible] which I have received from your learned work, con[illegible]

[c] [In 1835.]

cerning my religion, is the astounding fact that "confession has a prospective efficacy in reference to sins about to be committed, as well as those which have occurred already." The only open, or, as we call it, scholastic question on the subject, seems to be, according to your information, whether penance has not the same efficacy too (p. 71). Here have I been brought up since a child to the practice of this duty, and not one of my teachers ever had the kindness or the sense to tell me this most useful prerogative of confession. And what has been the necessary consequence of such stupidity?—why, that I have been teaching and directing others for years, and have been always saying exactly the contrary to what you now tell me is the doctrine of my Church. And I fear the evil is now past remedy; for I find that all my fellow-clergymen have been kept in the same ignorance with myself, and teach the same doctrines as I do on the subject.

Do I blame you, Sir, for being ignorant upon such matters, as our belief concerning holy water or confession?—Certainly not: but I blame you severely for writing on subjects whereon you are ignorant. If a blind man goes abroad into the streets, and stumbles against me, and injures me as well as himself, I do not chide him for being blind, but for not getting some one,—at least a child, to guide his steps. Now, Sir, this is precisely your case, and so do I say to you: Why did you not ask for some boy who frequents our charity schools, or has learnt his catechism, to inform you on these subjects? Even he, Sir, could have taught you better. I am, &c.

LETTER THE SECOND.

SIR,—I contented myself, in my first letter, with simply noting the first impression produced on my mind by the perusal of your work; I will, in this, examine the worth of the argument which it contains; after which I will descend, in my future communications, to the more detailed examination of its principal counts against us.

Your book professes to demonstrate the alliance between the Catholic religion, or, as you term it, Popery, and heathenism, by pointing out an identity between many ceremonies, and, as you say, doctrines, in the ancient and modern religions of Rome. Your mildest conclusion of course is, that Popery is nothing but a human religion, having no claims to a divine original.

I will for a moment grant you the full extent of your assumptions and premises; I will concede that all the facts you have brought forward are true, and all the parallels you have established between our rites and those of paganism correct; and I will join issue with you on your conclusions, trying them by clearly applicable tests.

You are doubtless aware that Dr. Spencer, a learned divine of the established church, published two folio volumes, replete with extraordinary erudition, entituled *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus, et earum ratione*, which has gone through many editions, both here and on the continent. Now the entire drift and purport of this work is manifestly twofold. First, to prove that the great design of God, in giving rites and ceremonies to the Jews, was to prevent their falling into idolatry. Secondly, to demonstrate that almost every practice, rite, ceremony, and act, so given, was

directly borrowed from the Egyptian heathens. If you wish to satisfy yourself of this latter point, you have only to read over the table of contents to the several books, and you will find, that whether we speak of the more solemn and special injunctions, or of the minutest details of the ceremonial law; of circumcision, and of sacrifice in all its varieties, and with all its distinctive ceremonies; of purification and lustration, and new moons; of the ark of the covenant and the cherubim; of the temple and its oracle; of the Urim and Thummim, and the emissary goat; of them all Spencer has endeavoured to prove, and that to the satisfaction of many learned men, that they pre-existed among the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations. But I do not mean to force you into any such specific consequence; I wish to leave you a choice of conclusions.

In the first place, do you dissent from this learned divine, and assert that he has not made good his point of establishing the derivation of all or most Jewish rites from those of the heathens? Then, Sir, I conclude that there may be such resemblances between the ceremonies and institutions of two religions—one false and the other true—as to enable a man to write two folios upon them, and yet these resemblances may be purely accidental, and no ways show any real connection between them. Your one hundred and twenty octavo pages have not done as much for us as Spencer's two folio shave for the Jews; and therefore we may conclude the same of your lucubrations, and of your master's before you.

Secondly, do you, with a great body of learned men, admit that Spencer has made good his point? Then I conclude, that a religion may have borrowed all its ceremonies and rites from its heathen neighbours, and

yet not be, on that account, the less divine and sanctioned by God. Nay, to take the whole of Spencer's reasoning, the institution of such rites, instead of leading to idolatry, is the best preservative against it.

Now, of these two conclusions, and their application to the value of your work, I leave you the free choice. Either, after all your efforts, you have established no connection between our ceremonies and those of the heathens; or, if you have, you have done nothing towards impugning the worth and correctness of the Catholic religion.

But let me ask, does it follow that every resemblance is proof that one has borrowed from the other? May not both have come from a common source? May they not, in both, be the spontaneous and natural manifestation of feelings common to men under similar circumstances? The Indian kneels in prayer, or raises up his eyes to heaven; does it follow that all who do so have learnt it from the Indian? Do not nations the most distant express their feelings of respect and affection in the same way? do they not bow, or prostrate, or embrace, or shake hands? and yet no one sees therein any necessary dependence or close alliance between them; but we consider all these outward demonstrations as common and neutral property, which all may enjoy. Now, Sir, here is the great fallacy of your own and your predecessor's reasoning. What you have said of miracles, after Bishop Hall, that they must be judged by the doctrine they confirm, not the doctrines by the miracles,[d] is

[d] Page 102. Admitting this position to be correct, how comes Paley's, who follows exactly the opposite course, to be the established work on the evidences, in Protestant education? Does he not place the pyramid on its point, proving Christianity from miracles, instead of basing miracles on the truth of Christianity?

much truer of ceremonies; they must be judged by the doctrines they outwardly manifest, not the doctrines by the external rite.

If it be lawful at all to show respect to images or relics, and if, in the mind, the line is clearly drawn between that respect and the adoration reserved to God alone, it matters not by what conventional act it is exhibited. To genuflect, or to prostrate, or to bow, or to kiss, are but indifferent acts, receiving their value from the mutual understanding of men. In England, the Catholic kneels before any bishop to receive his blessing; in Italy, he is content with kissing his hand. In the West, we manifest our respect by uncovering the head, and consequently we serve bare-headed at the altar; in China, it would be deemed disrespectful to appear so before the great, and consequently the Catholic priest officiates there with his head covered. The different ways, therefore, wherein such feelings are exhibited, are equally harmless; it is the inward application only that can give them a moral determination.

See then how you proceed. You *assume* that our doctrine is incorrect regarding saints and their representations, and then, of course, any outward mark of respect is wrong; and as the marks of respect, if shown, *must*, by human nature, be the same as others have shown in a false worship, you identify the acts, and lay them to the charge of the religion. Again, if our faith in the eucharist is well-grounded, we certainly are fully warranted in bowing down before it, and adoring it. You *take it for granted* that it is false, and then, with a blasphemous levity, which must chill the blood of every Catholic, speak of the worship, which must be justified or condemned, according to the dogma it obeys, as idolatrous and

profane (pp. 66, 88). Now, Sir, suppose a Socinian or infidel were to act thus: and, assuming at once that there is no redemption through the cross, and no corruption of original sin, were to censure your practice of baptism as a fond superstition, scoff in derision at the sign of the cross there used, or at the idea that outward ablution could affect the soul, and ridicule your solemn rite in terms of indecent profaneness, and compare it to the washing of the heathens for the forgiveness of sin, as described in your apposite lines from Ovid (p. 20):—

> "Ah! nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
> Fluminea tolli posse putetis aqua;"

would you not reply, that the whole question turned upon the doctrine involved in these practices, and that to dispute about the outward forms was but discussing the shadow, while the body was neglected; that it did not follow from a similarity of rite, even coupled to some resemblance of doctrine, that the two were identical or equally reprehensible. Your reply would be quite correct, and I beg of you to apply it. So long as you proceed on the supposition that we are wrong in the doctrine, you will have it all your own way. But it is there where the entire question rests, and where we are at issue with you. They are the dogmas of a religion which must decide its value; their outward action depends on their inward worth. Some naturalists, like Virey or Lamarck, have compared the limbs and organization of man to those of the chimpanzee; and finding that they have "organs, dimensions, and senses," very much alike, have concluded that the human race is descended from that respectable animal. But they have judged as you have; they have looked at outward appearance; they

have forgotten the soul, the living spark of life and intelligence, the power of directing thought and action to high and immortal destinies. To compare two religions, and judge them identical,—while the one professes to believe in only one God, in undivided Trinity, in the Incarnation of His Son, and in redemption through His blood, and the other is a professed system of polytheism,—because the two have the same forms for expressing religious feelings, is assuredly as vain and absurd as the conduct of those philosophers. There are processions, and lights, and incense in the Catholic, and in the ancient Roman *worship;* therefore the two *religions* are identical. Truly "there is a river in Macedon; and there is also a river at Monmouth;" therefore Macedon and Monmouth are both alike.

You have yourself, as I intimated in my first letter, greatly spoiled your cause by introducing into it a comparison between our rites and those of India. For how, in the name of all history, did the Catholics of Italy, or Rome, or Ireland, come by Indian ceremonies? When or how were they ever introduced into the service of the Church? These ceremonies, too, according to your quotations, appear to be of very great antiquity; the holiness imparted by the Ganges, which you compare to the water-idolatry, as you call it, of the Irish (p. 69), is a fundamental point of the Hindoo religion, and doubtless existed long before the time of Christ; yet had it no parallel in western heathenism. How then did it get to Ireland, or any other Christian country? Is it not manifest that the connection between rites and practices so far apart, is more hidden and mysterious than you would have your readers imagine? that, instead of such resemblances giving any necessary proof of derivation, they only show one of these two things: either that in

every worship, however corrupt, there are fragments remaining of purer and primeval forms, which are found more or less disfigured in them all; or else that nature directs men, under the most various circumstances, to a similar symbolization of their inward belief, and to similar acts of religious worship? And the more you can point out resemblances between the acts of religious observance prevalent in unconnected countries, the more you establish these positions. And if you would look into Catholic works, you would find, that so far from wishing to pass over or conceal such coincidences, they are even more explicit on them than you have been; and that, instead of fearing them as evidence against themselves, they insist upon them as arguments in favour of their belief. I do not mean merely scientific authors, like Mabillon, Durantus, or Bona, but writers for general edification. Read, for instance, and I am sure it would instruct you on many points, the learned and pious Abbé Gerbet's treatise *Sur le Dogme regénérateur de la Piété Chrétienne*, and you will find how powerfully he uses the many cravings after the Catholic Eucharist discernible in the rites of almost every heathen worship.

But I must not pass over the way in which your line of argument was met in older and better times; for perhaps you are not aware that your objections are much older than Dr. Middleton, or Hospinian, or Brower de Niedek, both of whom you overlook in your valuable catalogue of writers on comparative idolatry. The first person who argued as you have done was Julian the Apostate, who said that the Christians had borrowed their religion from the heathens.[e] This proves at once that even then the

[e] Cyrilli Archiep. Alex. cont. Jul. Juliani Opera, editio Spanheim, tom. ii. p. 238.

resemblance existed of which you complain as idolatrous; so that it is not the offspring of modern corruption, but an inheritance of the ancient church. It proves that the alliance between *Christianity* and heathenism existed 300 years after Christ, and that consequently so far Popery and ancient Christianity are identical. The Manichees also are accused by St. Augustine, writing against Faustus, of having made the same charge.

Now to this objection the fathers answered precisely as I have done: "Habemus quædam cum Gentibus communia, sed finem diversum," says St. Augustine.[f] And again, writing to Deogratias, "Wherefore they who know the Christian books of both Testaments, do not blame the sacrilegious rites of the pagans because they built temples, instituted priesthoods, and offered sacrifices, but because these things were in honour of idols and demons ..... From which you may sufficiently understand, that true religion reprehends, in the superstitions of the heathens, not so much that they immolated, for the saints of old immolated to the true God, as that they immolated to false gods."[g] It matters not how our rites and ceremonies resemble one another, so long as the worship to which we apply them is different.

A similar objection had been made, even in more ancient times; for Tertullian, and other writers of the first ages, go so far as to suppose that it was a policy of the arch-deceiver to pre-occupy, or copy, the sacraments and rites of the new and old covenants in heathenish religions, that so he might lead men astray. I am not discussing the correctness

[f] *Contra Faustum, lib. xx. cap. 20.* "We have some things in common with the Gentiles, but we apply them to different ends."

[g] Epist. 102, al. 49.

of this idea; I only want the fact of their acknowledging such resemblances between true and false religions.[h]

But, Sir, has it never occurred to you how this argument of yours may be turned against doctrines as well as rites? and indeed your reasoning is of this sort; and not only against Catholic doctrines, but against the entire Christian faith? Nay, are you not aware that this very line of argument has been pursued by the enemies of Christianity? Is not the doctrine of the Trinity clearly to be traced in the celebrated letter of Plato to Dionysius, given by Eusebius, and in the works of Plotinus and others of his school, and in the Oupnekhat and the Vedas, and in the philosophical writings of Lao-Tseu? And has not Dupuis, in his *Origine de tous les Cultes*, deduced therefrom, that this dogma could not have been revealed in Christianity, since it was so well known before, and so widely diffused, but that it was borrowed by St. John, and the other apostles, from the heathenish philosophy? Are not the very terms of the doctrine, the *Word*, as well as the Father and Spirit, and their procession one from another, found by him and others in this eastern school? Has not Volney drawn a parallel between Christ and the Indian Chrishna, in name and character? And are not the parallels between the two much stronger than any you have brought, between our ceremonies and those of ancient Rome or India? Has not the idea of

[h] "Ceterum si Numæ Pompilii superstitiones revolvamus, si sacerdotalia officia, insignia et privilegia, si sacrificalia ministeria, et instrumenta, et vasa ipsorum sacrificiorum, ac piaculorum, ac votorum curiositates consideremus, nonne manifeste diabolus morositatem illam Judaicæ legis imitatur?"—De Præscript. cap. xl. "Quo agnito hic quoque studium diaboli cognoscimus, res Dei æmulantis; qui ex ipso baptismo exercet in suis quid simile."—De Bapt. cap. v.

a divine incarnation, and of salvation through the interference of God in the flesh, been found again and again in the Indian mythology, and in that of other eastern religions? Could we not easily collect in the same quarters many resemblances to the doctrines of justification, of predestination, of grace, and of atonement? And yet who that has an understanding to judge, is driven for a moment from the holdings of faith by such comparisons as these? Doubtless in this country the experiment has not been made as it has abroad. The *Ruines* of Volney and the abridgment of Dupuis' *Origine* have done much towards sapping religion among the weak in France; and a popular work such as you have put forth might be easily got up in English, attacking Christian truths precisely in the same manner. Now perhaps those who have any desire to find the evidences of Christianity wanting in the balance, would be satisfied by such an argument. And so it is with your work; to those who have already made up their minds that popery is idolatry, your arguments will be most convincing, for there will be an interior echo to respond to its invective; but on the Catholic, or on the enlightened Protestant, it can have no more influence than the similar argument of the French infidel.

I have already intimated, that the few rites preserved in the Protestant religion might be just as easily traced to heathen customs. In what does the sermon, which forms the main feature of your service, differ from the *chutbat* or discourse of the Iman in the Mohammedan mosque? and the pulpit from its *mimbar?* Indeed, to tell the truth, I rather suspect it may be still more heathenish; for if I remember right, in the basilica at Pompeii (from which class of buildings the form of three-aisled churches is taken),

there is a sort of elevated pulpit or reading-desk, occupying the most important place. Not to say that in the lately excavated Temple of Concord, wherein Cicero harangued, there seems to be something very much of the same nature. Why, are not your surplice and cassock the exact copy or rather successor of the upper garment over a longer one, which Mr. Blunt tells us was worn by the ancient priests, as exhibited in a bronze of the museum at Naples? Nay, he is obliged to own, that "the cassock of the Protestant Church is an imitation of this more ancient article of clerical dress;" that is, I suppose, of the Catholic cassock, which he has just been deriving from the heathen one.[i] And moreover your one vestment must always be white, the colour ever used in ancient heathen worship; whereas we vary ours according to circumstances. Again, he tells us that the custom of boys, such as sing in cathedrals, attending at worship, "is a custom manifestly derived from heathen times." And he quotes a picture from Herculaneum, where a boy attends at sacrifice dressed in a white tunic, descending to his knees; and he adds that the boy who ministers at the altar in Italy has the same dress and office, only that he supplies books instead of chaplets.[j] Now, as the Italian surplice does not reach below the waist, I hold that the parallel of boys in white tunics with books will be more easily found in St. Paul's than in St. Peter's.

What is your marriage ceremony but the counterpart of that of the Roman pagans? for they too used

[i] Vestiges of Ancient Customs, p. 112.

[j] The upper garment worn by the priests is called, according to Mr. Blunt, the *mozzetta*. The mozzetta is only worn by bishops, and in Rome only by cardinals, and is only a tippet which covers the shoulders. Never yet have I found a Protestant traveller describe anything relating to our service correctly.

a ring on such occasions,—the *annulum pronubum*, as Tertullian calls it; so that Juvenal says,—

> "Conventum tamen, et pactum et sponsalia nostra
> Tempestate paras, jamque a tonsore magistro
> Pecteris, et digito pignus fortasse dedisti."—Sat. vi.

For which use of ceremony and outward rite, I know not what warrant you find in the New Testament. And in like manner the endowing with all worldly goods corresponds to the formula, "*Ubi tu Cajus ego Caja*;" though where the worshipping with the body, "and with my body I thee worship," came from, I cannot discover; for, as when Catholics speak of the worship of images, it is insisted, in spite of their declarations, that they adore them, I suppose I must take this bodily worship for idolatry, and that of the very worst kind, being directed towards a living being.

The funeral service may be treated in like manner; the fashion of bearing the body to the grave with great pomp, but without a single symbol about it of Christian hope, or of religious feeling, appears to all foreigners marvellously heathenish; and the friends going as mourners, and the escutcheons of the family borne with it, and the hired mutes, are exactly to be found in the ancient Roman funerals, where the bier was followed by relations, and the images of ancestors were borne before it, and many hired mourners swelled the crowd. In Italy, on the contrary, the clergy and charitable confraternities alone accompany the body, singing religious chants. Then, the custom of nearest relations throwing earth on the coffin corresponds, as well as possible, with their lighting the funeral pile in ancient times; and I think too that this practice shows a better connection between ancient and modern rites than your

charming conjecture, which you recommend to the notice of the learned, that the "Terra sit tibi levis" (which, for prosody's sake is on monuments, always *sit tibi terra levis*) "was the foundation of prayers for the dead" (p. 80); which conjecture I suppose you mean to confirm in the very following paragraph, by allowing that the Jews at the time of the Maccabees offered sacrifice for the dead.

Of your baptism I need not speak; for assuredly your quotation from Ovid, deriding the absurdity of thinking that sin can be washed away by water, would apply, in the mouth of a free-thinker, quite as well to baptism as to holy water; or rather better, as we do not believe crimes to be forgiven by this.

Thus you see that with very little trouble, we may trace as many resemblances between Protestantism and heathenism, as you can between Catholic and pagan worship. For, with a little second-hand quotation and a good deal of original invention, I might have extended each of these heads into so many chapters, and made as long a book as you have. And if my heads would not have been as numerous as yours, my argument would have been better; because I should have touched on *all* the ceremonies which you have preserved.

And then too I could have made another charge. How come you to have retained so many remnants of popish idolatry, saints in your calendar, and saints to whom your churches are dedicated? And if heathenish deification and Catholic canonization are the same thing, what make you of the apotheosis of King Charles, martyr? For what virtue was he taken into the calendar? To what cause did he bear witness? How comes it that as yet, in the Temple church, is preserved the inscription which grants an indulgence

to all who visit it annually?[k] Surely, if popery be idolatry, you have continued many of its abominations.

But I am willing to take the comparison on the broadest grounds which you propose. You imagine that little or no change has taken place in the Pantheon, by the substitution of all the saints in it for all the gods. I presume you would not quarrel with a heathen temple's being changed into a church; for you have not scrupled to occupy our churches, even without a thorough Knoxian purgation.[1] But I will suppose, if you please, an ancient Roman revisiting that temple. The first thing which would strike him would be the sign of salvation—the image of Christ crucified, raised upon every altar—and most conspicuously upon the principal and central one. On the right, the picture of one whom men are stoning, while he, with eyes uplifted, prays for their conversion, would rivet his attention; and on the left, the modest statue of a virgin, with an infant in her arms, would invite him to inquiry. Then he would see monuments of men, whose clasped or crossed hands express how they expired in the prayer of hope; the inscription on one side would tell him how the immortal Raphael had willed that no ornament should deck his tomb, but that very statue of God's mother which he had given to that church;

[k] This curious document, placed over the front door, on the inside, runs as follows:—

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M̊CLXXXV̊ DEDICATA
HÆC ECCLESIA IN HONORE BEATAE MARIAE A DN̄O
ERACLIO DEI GRĀ SCĒ (SANCTÆ) RESURRECTIONIS ECCLESIAE
PATRIARCHA IIII IDUS FEBRUARI Q̄I ĒA (QUI EAM) ANNATIM
PETĒTIBUS DE ĪIVNTAS̄I (INJUNCTA SIBI) PENETĒTIA LX DIES INDULSIT.

[1] At least as to the *first* point of his system; the second was pretty well understood in both countries. "The *first* invasion was upoun the Idolatrie; and thare efter the comoun Pepill began to seik sum Spoyll."—Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland, p. 128.

another informs you, that the illustrious statesman (Consalvi), after bequeathing the fortune he had made in the service of the public, without reserve, to the propagation of Christianity among distant nations, would have no tomb; but that his friends had, as it were by stealth, erected to him that modest memorial. Around him he would see, at whatever hour of the day he might enter, solitary worshippers, who gently come in through the ever unclosed brazen portals, to keep watch, like the lamp which sheds its mild light upon them, before the altar of God. And I fancy it would be no difficult task, with these objects before us, to expound and fully develop to him the Christian faith; the life of our Redeemer, beginning with His birth from a Virgin to His death upon a cross; the testimony to His doctrine, and the power which accompanied it, exhibited in the triumph of the first among His martyrs; the humble and modest virtue which His teaching inspired to His followers, their contempt of worldly praise, and the fixing of their hopes upon a better world; the constant and daily influence His religion exercises among its believers, whom it sweetly invites and draws to breathe a solitary prayer, amidst the turmoils of a busy life. And methinks this ancient heathen would have an idea of a religion immensely different from that which he had professed—the religion of the meek and of the humble, of the persecuted and the modest, of the devout and the chaste. I believe, too, that by seeing the substitution of symbol for symbol,—of the cross, the badge of ignominy, with its unresisting Victim, for the haughty thunderer,—of the chastest of virgins for the lascivious Venus,—of the forgiving Stephen for the avenging god of war,—he would conceive a livelier idea of the overthrow of his idolatry by the

mildest of doctrines, of the substitution of Christianity for heathenism, than if the temple had been merely stripped, and left a naked hall, or a tottering ruin.

For I think that the ark of God, standing in the very temple of Dagon, with the idol at its side, broken and so maimed that it might no longer be able to stand upon its pedestal, would convey a prouder and stronger demonstration of the superiority of the Law to the religion of Syria, than when concealed in silence behind the curtain of the sanctuary. And, in fact, so far were the ancient pagans from considering the substitution of Christian emblems for those of their religion, as only a modification of the same worship, that nothing enraged them more, or made them feel more keenly the change which had been introduced. Julian the Apostate thus writes to the Christians :— "You, oh hapless men! while you refuse to adore the shield descended from Jove" (the ancile which you somewhere compare to a popish thing), "which the great Jupiter, or our father Mars, sent down, giving a pledge, not by words but by deeds, of sure protection to our city, adore the wood of the cross, signing its image on your foreheads, and sculpturing it on the front of your houses." You see, therefore, that Julian did not think that the substitution of our symbols for those of heathenism was any continuation of the same religion.

And I might here ask you, what sort of Christians these were who are thus accused of substituting the cross for the ancile, and superstitiously signing it on their foreheads? Were they Protestants, or do not these practices strangely savour of Popery? Now mark St. Cyril's answer. He does not deny the facts —he does not enter into any long explanations—he answers as a Catholic child might answer your cavils,

from the words of his catechism,—that Christians "are indeed careful, and esteem it a primary duty (ἐν φροντίδι θεμένους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅτι μάλιστα κατεσπουδασμένοις) always to mark the cross upon their foreheads and houses, because it brought to their remembrance how One, dying upon the cross, banished the devil from the kingdom he had usurped over all men, and with him his evil powers, whom our calumniator calls tutelary deities; and here too they are reminded of the spiritual blessings purchased for us on the cross."[m] And again allow me to ask, would you or I, in other words, your religion or mine, have met the objection in these terms? Who then were the Christians whom Julian attacked, and Cyril defended? I will gladly yield you the full benefit of the former's alliance; and contentedly put up with the second's reply, and the faith and practice it supposes. In fact, the Theodosian code orders heathen temples to be destroyed, and "expiated by placing thereon the sign of the venerable Christian religion."[n]

But to return to my parallel. After having thus allowed the heathen to discover, if he could, his ancient worship and morality in the very Roman Church which you have chosen, and explained to him the doctrines there taught, I would bring him to the only splendid temple in this country wherein the Catholic religion has never been exercised, and where alone it has left no vestige of its truths and practices. I would bring him, after duly paying his entrance-fee, into the cathedral of St. Paul's, and desire him to *guess* the religion to which it belonged. Would not his first question be, Does it belong to *any* religion? is it a place of worship at all? No altar, no chapel, no

[m] Juliani Apostatæ Opera, ut sup. ed. Spanheim, vol. ii. p. 194.

[n] Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. p. 526, ed. Cujac.

emblem of any holy thought is visible; no point towards which men turn, as strongly concentrating the divine presence; no emblem of a peculiar dedication; not a worshipper or a reverential spectator; not one who, as he crosses the threshold, prepares his soul, as if approaching God, in prayer. There he sees men, with their heads covered as if in the public street, walking to and fro, looking at the edifice only as an architectural wonder, cut off by a stockade from the great nave, because so little respect is paid to it, that, if open, it would be profaned without scruple; while the jibe and the joke, or the state of the funds, or the scandal of the day, alone divide with their well-taxed curiosity, the conversation of the various groups. Would he, so far, see anything to show him that he stood in a place for *Christian* worship? Might not the organ suggest to him that it is a hall for festive meetings? Might not the mouldy banners that wave above him, lead him to imagine it was the curia, or the senate-house, of the city? But one circumstance alone might lead him to some accurate judgment; the seeing how here, one portion of the building, precisely its *cella*, is parted off and closely screened from the gaze and the tread of the profane; and as he had not seen anything of this sort in the Catholic Church, and it exactly corresponds to the form of his temples, assuredly he might suspect some still closer analogies.[o]

But while he thus felt himself at a loss to discover what religion claimed the possession of this temple, I

[o] Mr. Poynder quotes Kennet sometimes; I will therefore quote him too:—"Some curious persons have observed this similitude between the shape of these old temples and *our modern churches;* that they had one apartment more holy than the rest, which they termed *cella, answering to our chancel or choir.*"—Antiquities of Rome, p. 41. In the Roman and Italian churches this does not exist.

would direct his attention another way, and bid him look among the tombs and costly monuments which surround him, for some intimation of what god is here worshipped, and what virtues are taught. There he sees emblems indeed in sufficient number,—not the cross, nor the dove, nor the olive-branch, as on the ancient tomb; but the drum and the trumpet, the boarding-pike and the cannon. Who are they whose attitudes and actions are deemed the fit ornaments for this religious temple? Men, rushing forward with sword in hand, to animate their followers to the breach, or falling down while boarding the enemy's deck,—heroes, if you choose, benefactors to their country, but surely not the illustrators of religion. Of one it is said, that he died as a Roman would certainly have wished him, after having grappled with his enemy's ship, and rendered the destruction of one or both secure; the epitaph of another is expressed in the words of his commander's despatch; that of a third, in the vote of the House of Commons; not a word of a single Christian virtue, of a thought for God, of a hope of heaven; not a hint that one professed or believed in any religion. And would not the heathen rejoice to have found a temple, where the courage of the three hundred Fabii, or the self-devotion of the Decii, or the virtues of the Scipios, were so plainly taught, and held up to the practical admiration and imitation of men?

And how would his delight increase, on more closely inspecting the emblems under which these, virtues or their circumstances, are expressed. Sea and river gods, with their oozy crowns, and out-pouring vases; the Ganges, with his fish and calabash; the Thames, with the *genii* of his confluent streams; and the Nile, with his idol the *sphynx: Victory*, winged and girt up as

of old, placing earthly laurel on the brows of the falling; *Fame*, with its ancient trumpet, blasting forth their worldly merits; *Clio*, the offspring of Apollo, recording their history; and, besides these, new creations of gods and goddesses, *Rebellion* and *Fraud*, *Valour* and *Sensibility*; *Britannia*, the very copy of his own worshipped *Roma*; and some of these, too, with an unseemly lack of drapery, more becoming an ancient than a modern temple. This assemblage of ancient deities, as the only symbols to instruct his eye, would assuredly go far to confirm him, either that his ancient religion, its emblems, and its morality, had never been supplanted, or that they had lately been restored. Little would it boot to explain to him, how behind that screen a sacred book was read to a few people once a week,—to empty benches every day,—which teaches men to abhor his idolatry, and worship God in spirit; and that learned men there preach homilies on the peril of idolatry, and the danger of admitting even symbols into worship. All this would, I think, but perplex him the more. If you are not permitted to make any images, or to have them in your temple, he would ask, why break the law only in favour of warriors and river-gods? If you are allowed, why are the Christians of Rome to be denounced and anathematized, for erecting those of Christ and his saints? And truly, I have no hesitation in saying, that if he reasoned as you have done, and followed your principles of judgment; if he pronounced upon religion by the shell, and not by the kernel—by the body, not by the soul—by the outward forms, not by the belief which they express; and if he persisted, like you, in giving credit to his own impressions and preconceived judgments, rather than to the protestations

and declarations of those with whom he deals, I have no hesitation in saying, that he would see a much fainter impress of Christian thought in the Protestant, than in the Catholic, temple—much greater memorials of proscribed idolatry in the English, than in the Roman, cathedral.

Such, however, are not the tests which I should suggest to him. I would send him into a neighbouring island to study its history, and the conduct of those who have there taught the two conflicting religions, with a text in his hand, which would decide the point upon higher authority than yours or mine. In which of the two clergies has the following comparison been fulfilled, or which hath shown more propensity to do that which is attributed in it to the heathen? "Be not solicitous, therefore, saying: What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? FOR AFTER ALL THESE THINGS DO THE HEATHENS SEEK. . . . Seek ye, therefore, first, the kingdom of God and his justice."—Matt. vi. 31. I am, &c.

LETTER THE THIRD.

SIR,—I proceed now briefly to touch the particular grounds of your charge against us, and see how far you are borne out in attributing the practices of the present Catholic Church to the rites of heathenism. There are several ways of refuting your supposed parallels; as by proving what you call the corruptions of popery to have existed in the Christian Church, before you, who make the distinction between the two, allow popery to have existed; by showing them to have had a different origin altogether; or by

proving you to be entirely mistaken in your facts. I shall use these methods indiscriminately; and will consult brevity above all other things.

1. Your first attack (p. 17) is upon the use of *incense* in the church. It was used among the heathens; granted. Therefore the Catholics derived it from them; certainly not. The Jews used it before the Romans in the worship of the true God: Did the adoption of it by the heathens render it evil? Did not Christianity descend in right line from the Jewish religion; is it not therefore more honest to attribute rites common both to us and them, rather to those whom we profess to follow than to the others? But fairness is I suppose more than Catholics have a right to expect from you; we must drive you from the very field before you will be just to us. Do I say then that we have taken it from the Jews? No, certainly; we derive it from a higher example, and from a holier temple than theirs. For did not the temple of heaven, which surely we may think it right to copy, show to John, angels offering up incense at the altar as symbolical of holy prayer? (Revel. viii.) And thus alone do we offer it; for if you will look at the prayers used in presenting it at the altar, you will find them simply referring to this symbolic meaning. It is not with us a sacrificial rite, as among the heathens; for the priest, and the ministers, and the people, are all honoured by its use.

Was it just in you to say nothing of the use of incense in the ancient Church? For doubtless one so learned as you are in ecclesiastical antiquities, is aware, that Dr. Beveridge, bishop of St. Asaph's, defends the genuineness of the Apostolic canons, from Daillie's objection that in the third of them it is expressly said: "Let it not be lawful to offer any-

thing at the altar, except *oil for the lamps, and incense at the time of the holy oblation.*" The learned bishop contends that this clause no way affects the apostolic origin of these canons, because incense was certainly offered up in the ancient Church. And for this he quotes a passage from St. Hippolytus, bishop of Porto in the third century, as well as the testimony of St. Ambrose.[p] To which he might have added the decree of Pope Sergius in the second, preserved in the pontifical book of Damasus, that "no nun should touch the sacred pall, or serve incense in the church;" also the testimony of St. Ephren, the earliest Syriac writer, who thus speaks in his last will: "Do not bury me with incense and spices, for to me it is as useless glory. Burn your *incense in the sanctuary*, but perform my funeral with prayer. *Offer your odours to God*, but follow me with psalms."[q] How did the Syriac Church get this custom from the Roman heathens? Perhaps they derived it from the Chinese; as you have taken pains to prove that these also practise it.

Is it fair to deduce that offering incense was anciently considered essentially heathenish, from the Christians having refused to offer it expressly *to idols*, in token of apostasy? or because Theodosius confiscates a place where it has been *offered to idols?* For the most determined opposers of the ancient use of incense allow it to have been adopted in his time in the Church.

2. Your second topic presents a similar mixture of suppression of truth and extenuation of falsehood. Holy water is, you say, manifestly of heathen origin,

[p] Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ primitivæ vindicatus. Lond. 1678; p. 190. See the canon itself, p. 434.

[q] Assemani Bibliotheca Orient. tom. i. p. 143.

simply again because the heathens used lustration, as the Jews also did. Because the ancient Christians would not eat meat sprinkled with the apostate Julian's *holy water,* as you call it, they equally abhorred every other sort. "Hence we may see," such is your conclusion, "what opposite opinions the primitive Church and the Romish Church entertained on holy water" (p. 9). Now, see the absurdity, I had almost written dishonesty, of this reasoning. You first of all christen with the name which we give to our blessed water, the lustral water of the heathens, and then conclude that because they abhorred this, they detested the other. Suppose I argued thus: The ancient Christians would not go into a *church* (meaning thereby a heathen temple); how horrible then, and how much at variance with the practice of antiquity, is the Protestant custom of praying in churches. And in this manner you conclude most self-contentedly, that holy water "could not have been introduced so early" as Pope Alexander I., or 113 years after Christ, because St. Justin calls the *heathen* lustrations a device of the devil! (p. 19).

But did not the ancient Christians use holy water? Indeed they did, and that in a manner to shame us. They did not sprinkle themselves with it, to be sure, or "help themselves from a vessel at the door," as you express it; they did more than either,—they *bathed in it.* Read Paciaudi *De sacris Christianorum Balneis,* Rome, 1758, and you will find much to instruct you on this subject. You will there see how the ancient Christians used to bathe themselves before going to church, after the commission of any sin:— "Why do you run to the bath after sin?" asks St. John Chrysostom; "Is it not because you consider yourself dirtier than any filth?"[r] And Theo-

[r] Homil. 18 in 1 Cor.

phylactus writes in a similar strain. An ancient Christian bath was discovered by Ciampini among the ruins of Rome. But what is more to our purpose, the ancient Christians never went to receive the Eucharist, or even to pray in their churches, without washing their hands. "What propriety is there," says Tertullian, "to go to prayer with washed hands, and yet with an unclean spirit?"[s] St. Chrysostom is still stronger:—"Thou darest not touch the sacred victim with unwashed hands, although pressed by extreme necessity: approach not, therefore, with an unwashed soul."[t]

To supply the necessary convenience for this rite, a fountain or basin was provided at the church porch, at which the faithful washed, as St. Paulinus of Nola has several times described in the churches which he built. I will quote only one passage.

"Sancta nitens famulis interfluit atria lymphis
Cantharus, intrantumque manus lavat amne ministro."[u]

St. Leo the Great built one at the gate of St. Paul's Church, which was celebrated by Ennodius of Pavia in eight verses, of which I will quote the four first lines.

"Unda lavat carnis maculas, sed crimina purgat
Purificatque animas, mundior amne fides.
Quisquis suis meritis veneranda sacraria Pauli
Ingrederis, supplex ablue fonte manus."[x]

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[s] De Oratione, cap. xi. [t] Homil. ad pop. Antioch.

[u] "The portal's basin yields a sparkling wave,
Where they who enter in, their hands may lave."
Epist. 32 ad Sulpic. Sever.

[x] "Waters can wash the flesh's stains, but faith,
Purer than they, can cleanse the soul's defects;
Thou, whoso enterest this holy place,
Through the apostle's merits venerable,
Wash, humbly praying, at this font thy hands."
Ennodii Opera, Carm. 199, tom. i.

Perhaps the comma should be placed after *supplex*.

The same was the practice of the Greek Church; for Eusebius tells us with commendation, how Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, placed in the porch of a splendid church which he built, "the symbols of sacred purification, that is, fountains, which gave, by their abundant supply, means of washing themselves to those who entered the temple."[y] In fact we have several of the old lustral vases, with early Christian symbols and inscriptions, belonging to both the churches; as a celebrated Latin one at Pesaro, and a Greek one at Venice; drawings of both which you will find in Pacciaudi's work, with an ample description.

Thus, Sir, you see how much more plentifully the ancient Christians "helped themselves from a vessel at the door of a church" than we do; for they washed their hands in their holy water. But you will say, This was not *holy* water; for we do not read of any blessing pronounced over it. — Does then a blessing, or the prayer of faith over any of God's creatures, spoil it or render it unfit for use? Or does the use of it become superstitious thereby? The early Christians used to wash their hands at the door of their churches in token of purity; this has been modified into dipping the finger into vessels of blessed water, placed in the same situation, and with the same symbolical intent: the rite may be modified, but it is essentially the same.

But, in fact, water was blessed in the ancient Church, and that two ways; more solemnly on the eve of the Epiphany, and less so once every month;—and this is called in the Greek Euchologium, the μικρὸς ἁγιασμὸς, —*the lesser benediction*. The waters of both, although the first was primarily intended for baptism, were

[y] Histor. Eccles. lib. x.

carried home by the faithful, and highly valued; so that St. John Chrysostom, whom I dare say you do not consider a papist, tells us that they were miraculously preserved from corruption for many years; which he adduces as a proof of their value, and the holiness of this practice.[z] Nay, the learned Cave quotes the authority of this father in favour of the miracle, and makes no objection to it.[a] All which looks very much like popish doctrine on this subject.

But how do you think an ancient father would have answered your reasoning, that this practice is taken from the heathens? Listen to St. Augustine: "Accursed be the Manichee in Faustus, who says we have changed nothing in the customs of the heathens, knowing not what he speaks about. For they who otherwise believe, hope, and love, must necessarily, also, otherwise live. And if the use of some things appear in us similar to that of the heathens, as of food, of drink, *of ablutions*, . . . he uses these things very differently, who directs them to a different end."[b] This, Sir, is strong language, but well deserved by those who write without well knowing what they are treating of.

But I must not leave this subject, without noticing the ceremony of blessing horses, at St. Anthony's Church at Rome, on his festival; which I know not why you couple with the use of holy water (p. 20). In your account there are many inaccuracies, which I beg to point out. *First*, the priest does not sprinkle the animals singly, but often in droves, and placed at such a distance that the holy water cannot reach

[z] Homil. 23 de Bapt. Christi. tom. i. p. 278.

[a] Hist. Lit. Script. Eccles. Dissert. 2, de Libris Eccles. Gr. voce Agiasmos.

[b] Adv. Faustum, lib. xx. c. 23.

them; consequently, the contact of holy water is not necessary for the blessing. *Secondly*, there is no payment of *tant par tête*, as you express it; a small voluntary oblation is given by some, but there is no tax; and the greater part of those who choose to bring their horses there give nothing. *Thirdly*, it is *quite clear* that the sprinkling of horses at the games was no sacred rite, but only for their refreshment; as the dissertation by my learned colleague Professor Nibby, on the circus of Romulus, would have taught you.

In what therefore consists the ceremony? Why in a prayer pronounced by a priest, that those who use those animals may not receive injury or hurt; after which holy water is sprinkled, as it is at the conclusion of every blessing in the church, for a token of the direction or application of the prayer, and as an emblem of purification. I have known several Protestants go into the sacristy and procure a copy of the prayer, and express themselves quite satisfied of its perfect propriety.

But, Sir, have you nothing similar to this ceremony? You are, I doubt not, strictly observant of religious forms; and certainly every day *bless your meat*. What greater superstition or heathenish folly is there in blessing a living animal than in blessing a dead one,—a horse, which through its wickedness may lame you, or a pheasant or partridge, which can only by your own intemperance prove hurtful? Do you not see, that the blessing of an irrational thing is only another form of blessing on those who use it? and as you perceive nothing monstrous in the idea of blessing or praying over meat, or animals deprived of life, there can be no great harm in anticipating that blessing, and giving them the benefit of it while alive.

3. Your next grand division is, Lights and Votive

Offerings. As to the first, you have again a most respectable precursor in antiquity, worthy to keep company with Julian and Faustus. This is the heretic Vigilantius, who, St. Jerome tells us, called it idolatry to have lamps always burning before the tombs of the martyrs.[c] You have seen the Apostolical Constitutions mention the practice with commendation, in company with incense. St. Paulinus and St. Jerome inform us, that tapers were burnt day and night in the church. The former says,—

> "Clara coronantur densis altaria lychnis,
> Lumina ceratis adolentur ad ora papyris,
> Noctu dieque micant."[d]

In the works of St. Optatus, we have a list of the plate given up to the persecutors by Paul, bishop of Cirta; among which are "lucernæ argenteæ septem, cereopala duo,"—*seven silver lamps, two candlesticks.*[e] And similar objects of church plate are mentioned in the acts of St. Laurence.

But here again, why is the practice of burning lights in the Jewish sanctuary overlooked? Is there any, the slightest, moral impropriety, or essential evil, in the use of lights? And if not, is it desecrated by having been formerly applied by the heathens to a false worship, as well as by the Jews to a true one? The same is to be said of votive offerings. You erect a statue or a bust to a man whom you honour and admire; this is a natural manifestation of good feeling and gratitude; does it become wicked and abominable because as much was done by heathens to their fellows

[c] Ep. ad Ripar. 53.

[d] "The glorious altar, thickly crown'd with lights,
Is perfumed by the tapers' odorous flame;
Through day and night they shine."—Natal. 3. S. Felicis.

[e] Acta purgat. Cæciliani, p. 266.

of old? Even so, if a Catholic believes that he has received a favour from God, through the intercession of His saints, is he to be debarred from the public attestation of his conviction, and the open declaration of his gratitude, because heathens, who pre-existed, naturally were the first to seize on the most obvious way of expressing these sentiments? Once more, Sir, it is the doctrine, and not its outward expression, that should have been attacked.

4. You quarrel greatly with our sacred vestments, which you say, "for a Romish priest, are sufficiently numerous and puzzling" (p. 27); and in another place you manifest a particular abhorrence for the clerical tonsure. Puzzling and numerous they doubtless are to you, who do not know their names or understand them; but not so to Catholics. Why, Sir, to me the dresses of a doctor of divinity at Cambridge, three, I believe, in number, with their scarlet cloth, and rose-coloured silk, and sashes, and scarfs, and cassocks, and rich ermine capes, and full round sleeves, are perfectly unintelligible. Surely we are not to quarrel about the "fashion of our doublets," or raise controversy upon one another's dress. Nay, your clergy would look strange enough, if they observed their canons; and that too not merely when in their churches, but in public places. For in the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, not long ago reprinted, and therefore, I suppose, in force, it is ordained, "that no ecclesiastical persons shall wear any wrought nightcap, but only plain nightcaps of black silk, satin, or velvet:" also that, "in their journeys they shall wear cloaks without sleeves, commonly called priests' cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts:" moreover, that in private houses, they may "use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided that it be

not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks, and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings."[f] But seriously speaking, if you would look into the meaning and antiquity of our sacred vestments, perhaps you would be a little surprised at the ignorance you have betrayed; and for this purpose, as well as others connected with the points I have briefly touched upon, allow me to recommend to your perusal the excellent work of my very esteemed friend Dr. Rock, entitled *Hierurgia*, where you will find much that will be quite new to you. As to the tonsure, how there is more superstition in uncovering the head, by removing the hair, than in covering it by a wig, as the bishops of the establishment have heretofore been used to do—a laudable practice I believe, of late rather neglected—I am at a loss to see. St. Jerome tells us somewhere that much hair on the head is only the fashion of dandies, barbarians, and military men—"*luxuriosorum, barbarorum, et militantium;*" so that I think he would have preferred the diminution of real, to the superaddition of factitious, hair. In fact our practice, which, after all, is but a matter of discipline, is based upon very ancient canons, regarding the growth of hair in ecclesiastics. As to your comparison of the tonsure with the shaving of *all* the hair, practised by those employed in the rites of Isis, be so good as to consult their meaning, as explained by Synesius, and then you will see the difference.

I find I am getting involved in too detailed a controversy for my time and occupations; so that I will content myself with one or two more points, leaving the case in my reader's hands. For I believe that in a court of law, when you have disproved the accuser's

[f] Page 47.

testimony on several points, you prove him unworthy of credit in the rest.

You are greatly offended with the inscriptions over Catholic churches, which, after Middleton, you compare with those of heathens; and your eulogist in the *Times* decorated his columns with your comparative list (p. 33). The grounds of your dislike amount to this, that we, choosing to write in Latin, go to pure models, and prefer good words and forms to barbarous or corrupt ones. Truly this is a monstrous delinquency, worse than the clerk of Chatham's, whom Jack Cade hung for "setting of boys' copies, and having a book in his pocket with red letters in it." If you choose to consider it as a matter of taste, I am with you. I would go farther to copy a pair of good old leonine verses with rhyme in the middle and end, than to take down the chastest inscription by Morcelli or Schiassi; and gladly would I, that the reformers had not, by their derision of the simple style used in the Church, introduced that overweaning taste for classical Latinity, of which you justly complain. Though I fear we do not agree even here; for you call the beautiful and moving hymn *Dies Iræ*, an abomination! (p. 94.) But to make it a crime to use the same words as the Romans did in the dedication of a temple, while we write in the same language, is placing us in a sad dilemma between heathenism and barbarity. Yet I find that in the dedication of your churches to saints, which is, after all, a more serious matter than the forms in which it is done, the words used by the pagans are to be read; the church is styled *ædis*, or *templum;* God is *Opt. Max.* as Jupiter was; the saints are called *Divus;* the building is said to be *sacred* to them; and I find all your Latin writers who affect elegance, making use of these and similar

word swithout scruple. Yet no one has called them heathens.

But, Sir, it would have been well for you to have verified your master's quotations before you repeated them; for you would not have found one of them correct. The first, though I see no harm in it, I do not believe exists in Boldonius or elsewhere; the second happens only to be like a phrase in Cicero, which surely is no sin, and contains, besides, in the original, a clear distinction between God and the saint; the third is garbled and dismembered; the fourth, composed by Polo, is quoted by Boldonius only to be criticised in the severest terms, as a most unjustifiable imitation of a pagan form! Beware, Sir, how you receive too implicitly the gifts of such men as Middleton,—

κακοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δῶρ' ὄνησιν οὐκ ἔχει.[g]

But I fear that, however we may change our phrase, it will be difficult to escape the censure of *learned* travellers. For you will doubtless remember the fact of one among that class, who dedicated his travels to a very zealous Protestant baronet,[h] proving us to be idolaters from our calling the Blessed Virgin, on our churches, *Deipara*, which he translated, *equal to God*. However, to make some amends to you for having thus destroyed the interest of your inscriptions, I will give you a new one in their place, exceedingly popish, but at the same time very ancient. It was found two or three years ago in the ruins of Ostia, and is, I believe, as yet inedited.

ANICIVS AVCHENIVS BASSVS V C ET TVRRENIA HONO
RATA C E EIVS CVM FILIIS DEO SANCTISQVE DEVOTI p

This Anicius Bassus, who puts up a public inscription

[g] Euripid. Med. 625.

[h] Sir R. Inglis.

to tell us that he, his wife, and children, were *devout to God and the saints*, lived about three hundred and eighty years after Christ, and was no mean personage, having held the office of proconsul of Campania, as appears from his numerous inscriptions in Gruter, Muratori, Fabretti, and others;[1] neither was he very much under the influence of papal rule, for he is mentioned in ecclesiastical history as having, with Marinianus the patrician, most calumniously accused Pope Sixtus; upon whose full justification his goods were confiscated by Valentinian. So that this union of the saints with God in a common inscription, must have been the effect neither of ignorance nor of papal tyranny, but of universal belief and practice.

But what shall we say to the chapels and oratories, and still more the crucifixes and images, seen on the wayside in Italy, and more frequently in the land of the heroic Tyrolese? Your wrath is greatly inflamed against these high places of Popery, as you call them (p. 32); for my part, I hold them to be among the most beautiful and touching characteristics of the country. I well remember one evening, toiling along the sides of Etna, over a black field of lava, without a single object around that could cheer a wearied traveller; not a tree nor shrub, not a hut nor other sign of human habitation; not a star in the heavens, nor a reflection of twilight smiled upon our dreary road. But before us, at a distance, was one bright gleam, a brilliant point of steady light, which seemed the fairer for the gloomy desolation which surrounded us; and long we journeyed, conjecturing what that beacon could denote, whether the hovel of a peasant, or the watch-fire of the shepherd,—till we stood before

[1] Gruter, 1090, 20 (ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤ. ΚΑΜΠΑΝ.) Murat. 467, 7; Fabretti, p. 100, n. 225; p. 261, 120.

it, and found it to be the lamp which some poor, but pious, neighbour had lighted before a Madonna in a niche on the wayside, on whose countenance it shed, amidst the solitude and silence of the place and time, a mild and cheering brightness. My companion, whose religion differed from mine, could not help observing how exquisitely beautiful and benevolent this simple act of rustic religion then appeared to him, and how cheerless the rest of the way would seem, after we had turned our back upon the Madonna's lamp. And in every part of the country, to see the little rustic altars, with their tribute of flowers, exhaling a cloudless incense before them, and their fading garlands hung around, cannot but make one feel how completely, in the mind of the simplest peasant, the ideas of the holy and the beautiful are essentially united; and how their duty to God and His saints seeks to manifest itself with them, precisely as the affections of a child would be shown to the memorials of a departed parent.

In England too, Sir, there is no lack of images and representations of men upon the wayside; there are the King's head, and the Queen's, the Turk's, and the Saracen's, set up at convenient distances beside the road, to invite the poor peasant to rites more unholy than a prayer to saints; which, as they pass, they do not merely, what you think so wrong, "pull off their hats," but they draw from their purse their wife and children's food and maintenance; whereby they are invited, not to such abominations as "crossing themselves, or genuflecting," but to go in and join Bacchanalian orgies, where their time, and morals, and health, are all wasted away. But woe to this happy land, if ever, instead of these pictures and images by the wayside, shall be seen those of Christ crucified, or

of the angel announcing His incarnation to His Virgin Mother; such a change would be frightfully superstitious! Woe to its people, if ever they shall be seen reminded of good and holy thoughts by their emblems on the road, and heard to whisper a prayer as they pass an oratory by the way, rather than pay homage to the symbols of immorality and debauch! But, Sir, if we are all to have some images or pictures on the roads, give me the Tyrol, with its crucifixes, and its brave peasantry, with their beads in their hands when they go to work, and I will leave you those English representations, in which doubtless your zeal sees nought superstitious and unholy; and those who worship there, in whose conversation, as they pass along the road, you will surely find nothing to blame as a prayer to saints, or a thought about their existence. I am, &c.

LETTER THE FOURTH.

Sir,—The specimens of your inaccuracies given in my last letter, will be sufficient, I flatter myself, to put you and your readers on their guard against too implicitly believing often-repeated tales. I will trouble you only with a few more reflections, and they shall be moreover very brief.

Throughout your work, you assume it for granted, that there is a system of premeditated deceit carried on by the priesthood to which I belong; that there is amongst us a desire and a constant effort to keep the people under subjection, by the invention of miracles or of dogmas, of ceremonies or of commandments, just as our ends or our circumstances may best appear

to require. Were this true, we should, of course, deserve that society and mankind should scout us from the face of the earth. To me further information on this important point would be highly interesting; for if any one has a right to claim initiation into all the mysteries of his caste, I think I have every reason to suppose that I ought to have been made a craft-master in mine. Having received most of my education in the very heart and citadel of its influence; having been deemed sufficiently qualified to prepare others for this dark ministration, and to instruct them in all the arts they must exercise; having been honoured, however unworthily, with several commissions implying a confidence in my stanchness and fidelity, I should imagine I am intrusted with the whole secret of our power, and all the happy resources which you attribute to us, for preserving and extending our spiritual dominion. I cannot therefore but think it strange, that you should know so much more about our principles and doings than has ever been intrusted to me, or than I have been desired to teach to others of the same profession. For the way, and the only way, in which I, or those who have learnt with me, were taught by our good and learned masters to gain and keep our influence over men, was by outstripping them in good works, and endeavouring to show forth, in practice, the doctrines which we inculcate, by ever living up to the obligations we have taken upon ourselves, and by never being slack in the duties of our ministry.

As to miracles, it is true we were taught to believe in them; and if we therein resemble heathens, you might have made your parallel still more complete,

for we believe them precisely for the same reason which they assign:—

> Θεῶν τελεσάντων
> οὐδέν ποτε φαίνεται ἔμμεν ἄπιστον.[k]

We believe, like them, in the omnipotence of God, and see no authority for supposing that His arm is shortened. I know not whether your admiration of Middleton carries you to the extent of admitting the principles of his *Free Enquiry;* if so, you of course maintain that the only way to get rid of Catholic miracles is, to consign all the fathers of the Church to the same doom, of being considered impostors and forgers of wonders, to deceive the people. If so, I once more thank you for the good company in which your reasoning compels you to place us. If you excuse them, at the expense of your master, you overthrow the whole foundation of your argument, by allowing miracles to have continued in the Church after the apostles' times; and I should be glad to know whence came, and where is to be found, the decree which put an end to the interference of God's power in His own works.

But while we are thus taught to believe in miracles generally, somehow or other we have been always told to be very much upon our guard against admitting any case, without the minutest examination; and I have ever observed the extremest caution used by persons in high office about such as were reported; and I have known instances of spurious or imaginary ones being most severely exposed and condemned, in the most public manner. You know as well as I do, that no Catholic is bound to believe any of the miracles you record, and I dare say you will find many who dis-

[k] Pindar, Pyth. x. 77.

believe them all. In fact, I think Catholics are quite as hard to convince of the truth of any miracle as Protestants; and yet they remain good Catholics. For my part, all my reflection and study have led me to doubt the truth of that principle which Voltaire adopted from a heathen philosopher, that incredulity is the beginning of wisdom. I have never observed in those persons, who, so soon as they hear of any extraordinary manifestations of God's power, take their untruth for granted till they be fully proved, any other demonstrations of a strong mind, or nervous reason. On the contrary, I have generally noted, that those who scoff at such things, and make a boast that they are not easily convinced, are in fact only endeavouring to shroud ignorance and weakness behind this small display of unbelief, and desirous to gain the character of an *esprit fort* with the slightest possible risk. I am not ashamed to own, that, believing as I do in the promises to faith and prayer not having been withdrawn or weakened, and in God's exercise of His power, when required in favour or in honour of His Church; when I hear from persons whose characters I fully know, and who, I am satisfied, could have no motive or desire to deceive me, of some such work of power, whereby the goodness of God has been displayed in favour of those who trusted in Him, and where the worst consequences of a mistake could only be my having blessed Him for His care of those who love Him, and having felt a passing glow of virtuous emotion through my soul, my first impulse is to believe and to receive such a recital; and, neither building faith nor resting proofs upon it, I preserve it as a seed of hope, till something more occurs, either to give it further life, or to wither it where it hath been cast. And as when we throw into the garden's soil many seeds together, we are

contented if but a few spring up and yield us fruit; so am I, if, of many such facts, some are more fully verified, and ripen into proof; whereas, if I rejected all, I probably should have the joy of none. And if you would read the beautiful preface of the philosophical Görres to the exquisite Life of Klaus von der Flüe, written by his good and amiable son, you would see how rational and how reasonable is the course which I pursue.

But among all your declamations against the Catholic priesthood, there is one, the wickedness of which recoils, in my idea, so signally upon yourself,—one which I can with such difficulty believe could have been uttered by any one whose mind habitually loved to dwell on the holy and the good,—that I cannot believe any sincere friend of your religion will help abhorring any defence of it, which could require such blasphemous expressions. I allude to the indecent way in which you speak of the adoration paid by us to the Blessed Eucharist, where we believe the true Body and Blood of our Redeemer to be present (p. 66). You may differ from us in belief, but only infidels have, in general, ventured to scoff and rail at any worship which is intended for the true God and His adorable Son. If a Socinian, disbelieving in the Incarnation, were to speak as you do of our Lord, when a helpless infant in the flesh, or were he to say, in parallel language, that no people ever thought of their God being put to death, before the Christians, you would not think his difference of belief would justify him in such unseemly levity. The same is your case; for the belief of Christ's presence in the Eucharist is that not only of Catholics, among whom have assuredly been in our times, and are, men of the soundest philoso-

phical minds, but of the Lutherans, and of the most learned divines of the Anglican Church.

You do not believe yourself, nor the sect, whatever it may be, to which you belong, possessed of infallibility; and therefore you may be wrong in what you now hold, even according to your own principles. You should not, consequently, rail at what you one day may discover to be true. And even if this grace never should be granted you, if you should feel yourself immovable in every article of your present creed, I would exhort you to remember, that even the archangel Michael, when contending with the evil one, "Durst not bring against him a railing accusation," as your version renders it, or as the Vulgate more strongly and literally words it, "a judgment of blasphemy." (Jude 9.) There is a taint and a leprous defilement left on the soul of him who uses words of blasphemy, however right the hypothesis on which he grounds them; there is an unchasteness of mind in the indulging of thoughts even regarding error, which, if spoken of the truth, would be insulting to God's awful majesty; and, therefore, would not an archangel defile himself by the use of such rebuke, even to the accursed fiend. But to his conduct, the apostle opposes those who "speak evil;" or, as the Vulgate renders it once more, "who blaspheme those things which they know not" (v. 10). Take heed which of these courses you follow; and learn, first, to make yourself acquainted with the subjects that you handle, before indulging in unchristian language;—nay, even then refrain from using it.

I must now draw these letters to a conclusion, not from want of matter, nor from a desire to pass over several other topics of your book; but because, I trust, I

have done sufficient in the two first to overthrow the entire groundwork of your theory; and in the two last, to prove what credit is due to your specific assertions. Things which appear strange, or even wrong, to the uninitiated, are beautiful when their true origin and meaning are understood; or, as the divine poet beautifully expresses it,—

> "Veramente più volte appajon cose
> Che danno a dubitar falsa matera,
> Per la vere cagion che son nascose."—Purgat. xxii.

And I shall be satisfied, if this correspondence shall lead any of its readers to further inquiries regarding the character of our ceremonies, as well as of our dogmas. I am, &c.

AUTHORITY

OF THE

HOLY SEE IN SOUTH AMERICA.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *of July*, 1838.

[This essay may appear to have outlived any interest that it originally possessed; for it refers chiefly to a contest carried on beyond the Atlantic, now many years ago. But it may not be without its moral. The conflict between the Brazilian ministry of 1834 and the Holy See, wherein the latter was menaced with the separation from its communion of a vast empire, if it did not relinquish its rights in the institution of bishops, and yet remained unmoved, may serve to prove how absurd is the idea that the successors of St. Peter will flinch from the performance of their duty, at the threatful bidding of any temporal power.]

AUTHORITY

OF THE

HOLY SEE IN SOUTH AMERICA.

1. *Ensayo sobre la Supremacia del Papa, &c. Essay on the Supremacy of the Pope, especially with regard to the Institution of Bishops.* By the Rev. Dr. Joseph Ignatius Moreno, Archdeacon of the Metropolitan Church of Lima, Author of the "Peruvian Letters." Lima, 1836.
2. *Panegirico de la esclarecida Virgen Santa Catalina de Seña, &c. Panegyric of the glorious Virgin Saint Catherine of Sienna.* By Dr. D. Miguel Calixto del Corro, *published.....principally for the purpose of inspiring a mortal hatred of the monster Schism, and of convincing all men of the necessity of obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff, for the maintenance of true Catholicism, and the obtaining of life eternal.* Buenos Ayres, 1837.
3. *Reflexoes imparciaes sobre a Falla do Trono é as respostas das Camaras Legislativas de* 1836. *Impartial Reflections upon the Speech from the Throne, and on the Addresses in reply from the Legislative Chambers of* 1836. Rio de Janeiro, 1837.
4. *Resposta do Provincial dos Franciscanos do Rio de Janeiro, &c. Answer of the Provincial of the Franciscans of Rio de Janeiro to the Questions, treated in the Memoir sent with a Message from the Government, for his Opinion.* Rio de Janeiro, 1837.
5. *Memoria sobre o Direito da Primazia do Soberano Pontefice Romano, &c. Memoir upon the Right of Primacy of the Sovereign Roman Pontiff, in the Confirmation and Canonical Institutions of all Bishops.* Translated from the French. Rio, 1837.
6. *Selecta Catholica.* No. 8. Rio, 1837.

THE learned author of the first work on this list remarks, that amongst those who take up his book, there will be some "who, valuing only what comes from Paris or London, will throw it aside for no other

reason but that it is a work written at Lima, and containing no curious narratives, no flaming theories, and no capricious novelties in matters of religion, philosophy, politics, or finance." (P. xiv.) To us these are the very circumstances that particularly create an interest in his writings, and in the others now lying before us. To find, in works published beyond the wide Atlantic, the very faith that is taught not only in London or in Paris, but in Rome itself, free from the slightest trace of that novelty which is impressed upon every institution in the new states of South America, defended and illustrated with a learning, a zeal, and a generosity which would do honour to any country in Europe, is to us really refreshing, and a source of sincere gratification. Gladly as we should hail such works, if published in Paris or London, they come to us with a special charm, from the distance they have travelled.

Authority is not generally supposed to act in a ratio inverse of distance from its centre; especially that which has no fleets or armies to support it, but only the influence of moral arguments and feelings. That Great Britain, mistress of the ocean, and the Tyre of modern nations, should keep in subjection countries remote as the antipodes, can scarcely be matter of astonishment; her thousand prows not only bear, but can enforce her commands. And yet the more distant parts of her transmarine possessions have more than once given proof that, when consciousness of strength has reached its proper pitch, there will be a tendency in them to break the connecting link, — the cord, so to speak, which supplied the vital energy from the circulation of the mother country, and to assert an independent individuality of existence. But the Sovereign Pontiff, — *His* vicar, whose kingdom is

not of this world, — unarmed with temporal power, beyond the narrow limits of his states, without recourse to spiritual weapons, — for with one grand exception, the thunderbolts of the Church's anathemas have been laid up for many days in her arsenals,— he maintains undisturbed his sacred dominion from east to west, and need not fear its overthrow, either from the caprice of rulers, or from the growing independence of spirit in distant nations. We believe we are correct in asserting, that the separation of the Spanish dependencies from their mother country, was hailed by biblicals, missionary societies, and other brokers in religious stock, as producing a new and favourable market for their wares. Bales of bibles, and chests of tracts, were poured in with every fresh supply of Birmingham hardware or Manchester prints; and every commercial envoy had a *vis-à-vis* on his voyage in the shape of a religious agent. Toleration — that is, the free importation of all the brawling sects that tear one another to pieces in England—was confidently anticipated; and a country just cleared of monasteries could not but be considered in prime condition for a crop of presbyterianism or bible reading.[a] But seriously speaking, appearances fore-

[a] At a meeting of the Bible Society in September, 1824, the Protestant Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (Ryder) is reported to have "congratulated the meeting upon the prospect now opening to their view in Columbia; and contrasted the *progress which the society was now making in that newly-formed government*, with the spirit of bigotry and persecution that disgraced the first introduction of Christianity among that people. The consequence was, that despotism, civil and religious, had covered that land, and impaired her moral energies—had made it the seat of superstition—the very fastness of Papal power (cheers); but the storm had at length subsided, and they were now permitted, under the guidance of Him, 'who guided the whirlwind and directed the storm,' to spread through that country the glorious tidings of 'peace on earth, and good will towards

boded not well for religion. The Holy See, with every other European power, hesitated to break its harmony with Spain, for the recognition of the embryo republics, which disputed more among themselves than with the parent land. The succession of bishops was almost, if not entirely, interrupted, and Spain claimed the right to name to the vacant sees, while the revolted provinces refused to accept of its nominees. The hatred towards Spain caused the banishment of many clergy and religieux, who were natives of that country; and thus the supply of ecclesiastics was become very scanty.

It was natural to expect that, while affairs were in this condition, some would be found to re-echo, in the western hemisphere, those doctrines of religious independence which, in some parts of the eastern, had been considered a part of the code of political liberalism. And no doubt to many who understand not the spirit of the Catholic religion, an ardour for civil freedom, with an equal zeal for subjection to a foreign pontiff, may appear an anomaly. The objections made by the See of Rome to the repeated applications for bishops, so long as the struggle continued between the parent country and its dependencies, was naturally displeasing to the latter; and a party arose, that desired to see the Churches of South America established on the model of the schismatical one at Utrecht, paying merely a nominal submission to the successor of St. Peter. These dangerous principles were fanned from without. The restless politician, M. de Pradt, addressed the Mexican government,

men.'" (Cheers.) In a part of the report read at this meeting, it is said that the fields of South America are "already white for the harvest." See report of the meeting quoted from the Morning Chronicle, in Cobbett's Weekly Register, September 18, 1824.

while it was treating with Rome for the appointment of bishops, exhorting it to make such a concordat with the Holy See, as should leave it for the future independent in the election and institution of bishops, and in the government of the churches; and should the Holy See refuse, as was naturally to be expected, then to make every protestation of fidelity and union, and proceed to nomination without its concurrence. In this wicked proposal another unfortunate member of the same school, the Canon Villanueva, went farther still. For, in a work, of which thousands of copies were disseminated over all the new states, he denied even the necessity of the preliminary step recommended by De Pradt; and amidst a torrent of abuse against the popes, and a futile attempt to show that they have never held themselves bound by their concordats when made, advised the infant republics to assert their ecclesiastical, together with their political, freedom.

Fortunately, good sense, as well as sound religious principles, ruled in the councils of the states; not one swerved from its duty. They preferred waiting with patience till time and circumstances should allow the Vicar of Christ to give bishops to their widowed churches; nor were they long disappointed. So soon as the hold which Spain had on her colonies was reduced to protests and protocols, in spite of all opposition and resistance on the part of the former, the Holy See proceeded to treat with the latter for the filling up of vacant sees. By degrees, Chili, Peru, Mexico, the Argentine republic, and the other states, have been supplied with pastors; the Jesuits and other religious orders have been reinstated, and the entire continent, essentially Catholic, is firmly knitted

in sympathies, as in belief, with the rest of the Church.

It is chiefly to answer the calumnies of Villanueva and Pereira, that the first work on the list at the head of our article was written. The ponderous and inaccurate quarto of the latter author,[b] had been translated from the Portuguese into Spanish, at Lima, in 1833, but was received with little or no encouragement by the public. Don José Ignacio Moreno has done the work of refutation solidly and efficaciously. His volume is only a second part, though complete in itself, to a first Essay published six years earlier, treating on the great question of the supremacy, which we regret we have not been fortunate enough to procure. We own that we have been so agreeably surprised by the portion now before us, as anxiously to desire a perusal of the preceding. In the difficulty under which we necessarily labour of procuring accurate information on the ecclesiastical affairs of those distant countries, our views have been very limited, respecting the state of theological science there. The perusal of this work has completely set us at ease on this subject. We are quite sure that our brethren, the clergy of the New World, will not need assistance from Europe to fight their battles against infidelity, heresy, or any system of error, however artful. Whatever crisis, moral or political, may arise in those states, — however the safety, the unity, or the rights of the Church may seem threatened, —we feel confident that its interests are in good and able hands, which will support it as zealously and

[b] Demonstraçao Theologica, Canonica, e Historica do Direito dos Metropolitanos de Portugal, para confirmarem e mandarem sagrar os bispos suffraganeos. Lisboa, 1769.

as efficaciously as they have done during the past. Whatever learning or ingenuity on the part of corruption and error may be imported from Europe, whether in the shape of Protestant tracts or of Jansenistical treatises, there will be no need of sending them the antidote after the poison; the soil will produce it powerfully and abundantly on the spot. The author of the work before us has manifestly the command of a good library of theological literature, and knows how to use it. To a close and sound, but still a clear and simple reasoning, he unites an accurate and extensive knowledge of all that ecclesiastical history can furnish, towards solving the important question of which he treats. We must, however, content ourselves with presenting to our readers only a very summary and imperfect outline of his work.

After having briefly explained the state of the question, he proceeds to lay down what he calls his fundamental proposition, in these words:—"The right of instituting or confirming bishops, according to the constitution of the Church, belongs exclusively to the popes; and from his supreme authority flowed, as from its proper source, that which was at one time exercised, with his consent, by patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and metropolitans, in and out of councils" (p. 7). This proposition is proved in two chapters, in the first of which the Pope's right of giving canonical institution is shown to be a necessary prerogative of his primacy; and in the second the derivation of that right to inferior authorities is demonstrated. Here arises an important inquiry into the meaning and intention of the fourth and sixth canons of the Council of Nicea, which our author treats in three long chapters, full of learning, and

excellently arranged. The third chapter in particular, in which the right claimed and exercised by the popes to confirm the bishops of different countries, is fully proved, is at once well ordered, and abounds with interesting and convincing materials.

The next question is, Were the popes justified in resuming, or reserving to themselves, the right of instituting bishops, when the necessities or good of the Church required it; and do they deserve, for having done so, the charge of spoliation or usurpation made against them by Pereira or Villanueva? (p. 172.) This point is treated by our author with great ability and an accurate knowledge of canon law. He next examines the motives which not only justified the Holy See in resuming the exercise of its original rights, but compelled it again to reserve to itself the confirmation of bishops. He insists principally, and we think justly, upon the necessity of this practice, to secure the liberty of the Church. For without it, the most unfit characters might have been thrust into sees; nor were chapters often sufficiently strong to cope with the temporal power which not unfrequently supported usurpation.

The next question is of a more delicate and complicated character. Do the concordats entered into by the See of Rome with sovereign princes, deprive them of their right of institution; or is the former so bound by them as to be allowed, under no circumstances, to suspend or revoke them, without the imputation of breach of faith? (p. 208.) This we regard as one of the best portions of our author's work, whether we consider the question of right, or the historical examinations to which it gives rise. In the first chapter upon it, he fully confutes the specious theories of Van Espen, on this question: "On whom does the right of

nomination devolve, in case the sovereign, who, by concordat, exercised it, is incapacitated from using it?" In the second, he shows that the concordat is essentially in the form, not of an equal pact between the two parties, but of a concession from one to the other. For the right in them, secured to temporal princes, of naming to vacant sees, is in truth granted and committed to them by the sovereign pontiff, while that of confirming or instituting, which is reserved to the latter, is already his own inherent prerogative. The calumnious accusations against various popes, in which Villanueva indulges, are completely confuted.

The remaining portion of the work applies more particularly to the circumstances in which the new states of South America are, or were, placed. For the fourth question is, how far a want of communication between the Holy See, or a refusal on its part to appoint bishops, can authorize metropolitans to proceed to nomination? (p. 256.) The fifth discusses whether bishops, so appointed, would exercise valid acts of jurisdiction or not? (p. 306.) The last examines what would have to be done in an extreme case of impossibility of recurrence to the See of Peter (p. 318). On all these points the same soundness of views is displayed, with the same abundant application of historical precedents. The work concludes with copious biographical notes upon the different authors confuted in its course.

The composition of the work, without being in the least shackled with scholastic forms, partakes of that distinctness, method, and closeness, which the old school education was so admirably calculated to give, and the absence of which is so plainly felt in modern works on controversy and philosophy. We close it

with sincere respect for its author, and a hope that it has received the encouragement, in his own country, which it deserves. The first section or volume, published like the second, at Lima, was soon reprinted at Buenos Ayres, and was highly applauded by the Valparaiso and Santiago papers, as well as by bishops and clergy.[c] The sentiments of the learned archdeacon are thus proved to be in accordance with those of his fellow-countrymen, applying the term to the inhabitants of different states, but of one continent. When a publication entitled "An exact Memorial" (*Memorial ajustado*), suggesting similar views to those confuted by him, appeared at Buenos Ayres, it was most ably confuted by a layman, Dr. Tomas Manuel de Anchorena, in an opinion dated March 22, 1834. And even before this, the Chamber of Justice of the Republic of Chili, in giving the *exequatur* to the bulls for the consecration of the bishop of Penco, Snr. Cienfuegos, had rejected and confuted its opinions.

While the republican states of South America had shown themselves wisely ruled in what regarded ecclesiastical affairs, at a very dangerous period of their history, the empire of Brazil had not shown a similar discretion. What was impiously suggested to the former has been actually attempted in the latter, but only to give opportunity for a noble triumph to the Church, and for a splendid demonstration of public opinion in favour of its rights. All the other pamphlets in our list refer to this state, at least indirectly; and we shall endeavour to present our readers with an account of their matter, assisted by other original sources of information, which are at our command.

[c] See their testimonials, given p. 458 of the second volume.

Brazil, which is governed by a minor,[d] has a stronger right than any constitutional state, under ordinary circumstances, to exonerate itself on its ministers, for the foolish—not to say irreligious—course which it exposed itself to the danger of running. Indeed, we cannot but observe how, in modern times, every attempt to quarrel with the Holy See on the subject of its rights, especially in episcopal appointments, has been the work of favourite ministers who have grown all-powerful, rather than the sovereigns whom they served; more the effects of private spites and grudges, than of princely ambition. The infamous Carvalho, marquis of Pombal, in Portugal, Tanucci at Naples, Campomanes and Urquijo in Spain, Kaunitz at Vienna, are lamentable examples, in the course of half a century, of the mischiefs which the corrupt principles or base passions of a minister may bring down upon the Church of his country, under the shelter of weak and easily-deluded minds. We are willing to believe that the conduct of the Brazilian ministry arose rather from an unwise hope of intimidating the Holy See, than from any serious intention of proceeding to the extremities which threatened, in the affair whereof we are going to treat. Our materials will be drawn from the third tract quoted above,—the "Impartial Reflections on the Speech from the Throne," which we shall afterwards see has received the approbation of the Brazilian public.

The Regency of that empire, upon a vacancy of the see of Rio Janeiro, we believe in 1833, proposed to the court of Rome, as a fit person to fill it, Dr. Antonio Maria de Moura. The Sovereign Pontiff refused to

[d] [In 1838. It is by no means intended to apply expressions of censure used in this article to the present government of that empire.]

ratify the choice, or give the bulls of canonical institution to the elect. With respect to the personal character of the individual named and refused, we pretend to no knowledge. There were sufficient grounds in his avowed opinions to justify the conduct of the Holy See. The annual report of the Minister of Justice, May 10th, 1836, acknowledges that there was "some canonical impediment in the nominee, (and who amongst us," adds the author of the pamphlet, "is ignorant of this fact?) but of the sort which it is customary to dispense with." Further on he owns that the candidate held some points of doctrine "at variance with the Holy Father." The Minister of Justice, two days later, attributed the objections to opinions given by Dr. Moura contrary to the discipline of the Church. Any Catholic will consider these reasons sufficient in all conscience to justify a demur on the Pope's part; and whoever understands the jealousy with which the supreme executive power of the Church watches over the integrity of its faith in the most distant provinces, will not be surprised at the noble and unyielding conduct displayed by its present chief ruler.

The Regency seemed determined from the beginning to make this a trial of strength between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and to see how far it would be possible to make the latter sacrifice its scruples, and even principles, to the desire of preserving good understanding with the former. In the annual report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Coutinho, to the Chambers, in 1834, he thus explains the state of the contest:—"Dr. A. M. De Moura having been named bishop of the diocese of Rio Janeiro, on sufficient grounds, a delay has occurred in expediting the bulls in the usual style. But the Imperial Government

hopes, that in virtue of new instructions sent to its agent at Rome, they will shortly be expedited; *as becomes the dignity of the empire and the individual interests of the court of Rome.*" Here is no intention or desire manifested to remove the canonical grounds of objection to the individual chosen, nor to satisfy the Holy See that its scruples concerning his orthodoxy were unfounded. The dignity of the empire required that the ecclesiastical authorities should implicitly yield to its dictates, however opposed to justice and religion; otherwise the interests of the Holy See should so suffer as to subdue its resolution, and force it to submission.

They little knew the See of Hildebrand who reasoned thus. Negotiations upon such principles necessarily failed, and the ministry had recourse to stronger measures. In the report for 1835 the matter is again reported in the following terms:—"As yet the Holy Father has not ordered the expedition of the bulls giving institution to Dr. Moura, named bishop of Rio by the Regency, in the name of his majesty the emperor. The Imperial Government having shown its sincerest and liveliest desire to treat with becoming politeness and respect the Holy See, is firmly persuaded that his Holiness, *considering the serious consequences which the refusal of these bulls will bring after them*, will not fail to yield to *the energetic representations* made to him by our minister, and to the *ultimatum of our government.*" Before proceeding to explain what these measures were, which could not fail to produce the desired effects, we must not omit a clear proof now given, that so far from wishing to smooth away difficulties and remove the conscientious scruples of the Holy Father, it was the intention of the regency to force his consent in spite of them.

His Holiness, anxious on his part to make every becoming step towards conciliation, had, in the mean time, sent instructions to his internuncio at Rio, to ask for such explanations from Dr. Moura himself as might allow him to accede to the wishes of the ministry. The report just quoted was made in May; and on the 10th of June, before the papal minister had addressed himself to Dr. Moura, the latter received an official note from Sr. Alves Branco, foreign minister, to the effect that, "the Imperial Government having learnt, that the *chargé-d'affaires* of the Holy See had received orders to ask an answer or explanation from him (Dr. Moura), the Regency, in the name of the emperor, declared to him, that it would be very displeasing (*muito desagradavel*) to it if he agreed to such a demand." To which the episcopal candidate answered in a manner which proves how worthy he was of being the nominee of such a ministry; he said "that no such application had been made to him by the internuncio; but that if it had, it would have been useless, as he would never have taken so indiscreet a step as to answer it, covering himself thereby with ridicule in the eyes of his fellow-citizens." This conduct proves how far conciliation was remote from the views of the party; for from the earliest ages the right of the Roman pontiff has been acknowledged, to ask explanations of an elected bishop, on points of faith. Thus, early in the sixth century, Pope Agapitus refused to confirm Anthimus, of Trebizond, elected to the see of Constantinople, because he refused to sign the formulary of faith enjoined by Pope Hormisdas on the bishops of the east, and even deposed him from the see he held.

But let us see what were the energetic representations made by the Brazilian government to the Holy

See. They consisted of one of the most ridiculous, and at the same time one of the most indecent productions of modern diplomacy. For as to the latter characteristic, it is described by the able author of the *Impartial Reflections*, as "launching forth a quantity of words, phrases, and sentiments, gross, unbecoming, injurious, schismatical, heretical, and irreligious; thus not only offending the venerable grey hairs of the illustrious aged chief of the outraged Roman court .... not only the supreme ruler of the universal Church, the shepherd of the Catholic flock, the head of the religion and Church of Brazil, but likewise offending sometimes the dignity and honour of all the Brazilian nation and its government, which thus appears to degrade itself by employing the vilest and most miserable means, in its most delicate and important transactions" (p. 24). This may appear a severe censure; but it is fully borne out by comparison with the ridiculousness of this piece of diplomatic intercourse. The deputy, Sr. Vasconcellos, asserted in the Chamber, that the note presented by the Brazilian minister to the papal cabinet was a copy and parody of Lord Strangford's note to the Sublime Porte, of August 11, 1823. This assertion appeared too absurd to be believed: the very idea that a Catholic power, in addressing the Holy See, should have chosen as its model the strong remonstrance of a Protestant to a Mohammedan state, and yet talked of having used *becoming reverence* in its intercourse, was monstrous; while the poverty of invention in the government that could condescend to so paltry an imitation, was absolutely ridiculous. Hence even the author of the *Reflections* declares that the answer of Sr. Limpo de Abrèu, given two days after, that he could not consider such a misapplication possible,

appeared to him quite sufficient. Afterwards, however, he procured Meisel's *Cours de Style Diplomatique*, Paris, 1826, in the second volume of which he found Lord Strangford's note, "and with utter dismay, astonishment, and pain, found how true the charge of plagiarism was." The two notes were written in French, so that the comparison may be more easily made. The following are extracts from the two:—

Note from the Brazilian Minister to the Holy See, dated 23rd September, 1835.

"Il semble donc que se soit la volonté du Saint-Siège qui a fait naître la crise où il se trouve à l'égard du Brésil, et cette volonté ne peut avoir d'autre base que l'erreur.

"Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur s'il croit pouvoir, en gagnant du temps, exercer à la longue la faculté négative dans la nomination des Evêques du Brésil. Dans la crise actuelle, vouloir gagner du temps par des moyens dilatoires, c'est perdre sans espoir de retour, des chances que d'autres combinaisons ont fait naître, mais qu'elles ne sauraient reproduire.

"Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur s'il doute de l'unité des vues, d'intentions, et de vœux, qui préside aux déterminations du Gouvernement du Brésil; s'il doute de l'Assemblée Législative, la Chambre des Députés, la première à reconnaître en principes et en termes formels la justice des réclamations faites en vain depuis plus de deux ans auprès du Saint-

Note from Lord Strangford to the Ottoman Porte, dated 11th of August, 1823.

"Il semble donc que ce soit la volonté de la Porte qui s'oppose au rétablissement des relations de bienveillance réciproque, et cette volonté ne peut avoir d'autre base que l'erreur.

"La Porte est dans l'erreur si elle croit améliorer sa position en gagnant du temps. Dans la crise où se trouve l'Empire Ottoman, vouloir gagner du temps, c'est perdre sans espoir de retour des chances que d'heureuses combinaisons ont fait naître, mais qu'elles ne sauraient reproduire.

"La Sublime Porte est dans l'erreur si elle doute de l'unité des vues, d'intentions, et de vœux, qui préside aux déterminations des cours alliées; si elle doute de l'unanimité de toutes les puissances, l'Angleterre, la première à reconnaître en principes et termes formels la justice des réclamations de la Russie contre les innovations, les vexations, et

Siège, pour éviter une rupture qui d'ailleurs devient inévitable.

"Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur s'il croit inépuisable la patience de la Régence au nom de S. M. l'Empereur D. Pedro II.

"Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur lorsqu'il s'imagine que son intérêt à faire valoir des prétensions exagérés n'a pas des bornes. C'est en insistant avec raideur et hors de saison sur des prérogatives consenties dans les temps obscurs par l'ignorance et l'intérêt des princes, que le Saint-Siège court le risque de voir annuller celles même sur lesquelles se reposent aujourd'hui ses relations avec le Brésil."

infractions, auxquelles le commerce et la navigation sont exposés.

"La Sublime Porte est dans l'erreur si elle croit inépuisable la patience de l'Empereur de Russie.

"La Sublime Porte est dans l'erreur lorsqu'elle s'imagine que son intérêt à faire valoir ses prétensions à la charge de la Russie, lui commande de différer le rétablissement de ses relations amicales avec cette puissance. C'est en insistant avec raideur et hors de saison que la Porte court le risque de voir annuller celles même sur lesquelles se reposent aujourd'hui ses relations avec la Russie."—p. 23.

The stupidity of this burlesque, particularly in paragraph the third, is beyond measure, where, for "the unanimity of the allied powers," we have substituted, "the unanimity of the Brazilian Government;" as if the Pope had ever founded his delay in making out the bulls upon any divisions in the government. Such were the energetic representations of the Brazilian cabinet; its ultimatum was worthy of them. It was, that if his Holiness did not yield to its demands within the term of two months, the Brazilian empire would separate itself from the communion of the Church of Rome. The result was what might have been anticipated by any but the framers of the "energetic representations." Before the expiration of the appointed term, the Pope replied, that it was out of his power to accede to the nomination made for the diocese of Rio.

This declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff, was

communicated to the Brazilian public in the speech from the throne in 1836, which forms the theme of the *Impartial Reflections*. The portion of it which relates to this matter is couched in the following terms :—

"1. I cannot conceal from you, that his Holiness, after two years spent in reciprocal explanations, resolved not to accept the presentation of the bishop elect of this diocese.

"2. The government has on its side law and justice; but his Holiness obeys his conscience. After this decision, the government considered itself exonerated from using farther condescension with the Holy See; without, however, being wanting in the respect and obedience due to the Head of the Universal Church.

"3. In your hands it is" (addressing the Chambers) "to free the Brazilian Catholic from the difficulty, and, in many instances, the impossibility, of begging (*mendiar*) at such a distance, relief which ought not to be refused within the empire itself.

"4. So holy is our religion, so well calculated the system of ecclesiastical government, that being reconcilable with every system of civil government, its discipline may be modified for the interests of the State without ever compromising the essentials of religion itself. Notwithstanding this collision with the Holy Father, our amicable relations continue with the court of Rome."

The object of these paragraphs is sufficiently apparent, and the fallacies of which they are composed are but slightly disguised. The ministry had made a vain, boastful threat against the head of the Church. To use the expression of the primate of Brazil, in the senate, they had inscribed the circle of Popilius round the apostolic chair, and declared, that either he must confirm their nomination in the space of two months, or see that empire separated from the Holy See. So far as threatening, or, to use a plainer and more expressive word, so far as bullying went, they were perfectly competent; but the successor of St. Peter, having refused the first alternative, the ministers had recourse to the legislature for assistance in carrying

into effect their menaçe, and severing the country from the papal communion. They suggest the necessity of making such provisions as will enable the subjects of Brazil to dispense with recourse to Rome (par. 3). This refers to matrimonial dispensations, as we shall have occasion to show. They desire, moreover, that the discipline of the Church should be so modified as to meet the awkward position into which their blundering conduct had cast the government; that is, that bishops named by them should be consecrated and instituted without farther confirmation (par. 4).

The two objects of these two paragraphs are clearly explained by the light they receive from the fourth pamphlet on our list, containing the excellent answer of the Franciscan provincial, Frei Antonio de Sancta Mafalda, to a request presented to him, September 1, 1836, that he would give his opinion on a memoir forwarded to him at the same time. The substance of this document, he writes, may be reduced to three articles:—

"1. Can bishops, named by the government, be legitimately invested with possession of the bishopric, and with episcopal jurisdiction, solely in virtue of such nomination?

"2. Are matrimonial impediments dispensable by the authority, which, on the bishop's demise, exercises his jurisdiction; such as the vicar capitular, or administrator of the see?

"3. Can a bishop, so named, have right to any part of the episcopal revenues, under either of these titles?"

To each of these queries, which evidently embody the more covert suggestions of the speech from the throne, the reverend provincial answers clearly, solidly, and withal most prudently. Throughout his reply there is not the remotest allusion to passing events, but the cases are treated abstractedly, as though no application of them could be intended. He candidly states the opinion of canonists who differ from him,

and solidly confutes them. He learnedly discusses the canons of councils and constitutions of sovereign pontiffs, on the necessity of confirmation, and concludes against Osorius, that in no case, without the guilt of usurpation and the danger of schism, could a bishop named by a government, empowered to this act by concordat or usage, presume to exercise any act of jurisdiction, without having first received approbation and institution from the Holy See. On the subject of dispensation he is more reserved, in consequence of the conflict of respectable divines, and the variety of provisions made by the popes for different emergencies. Still his opinion is not such as to favour the desires or intentions of the government. The reply to the third query results from the answers to the preceding. No bishop elect can have a claim to more emoluments than he whose place he occupies, that is the vicar capitular, not the bishop.

On this side the ministry were manifestly foiled. But our object in quoting this document here, was not so much to demonstrate this point, as to unmask the desires and views of the government in the speech from the throne. As to the fallacies which it contains, the author of the *Impartial Reflections* has admirably laid them open. Many of his remarks we have already incorporated in our narrative. For instance, to prove that ministers did not, and could not, believe that law and justice were on their side, as they assert in par. 2, he quotes the declaration of ministers given above, that canonical objections existed against the approbation of the individual elected, and their having never proposed other motives for pressing their point, beyond the honour of the empire and the interests of the Holy See. But the best proof of the conscious falsehood of the assertion, that law and justice were on the side of

the government, results from the conferences held between ministers and the papal resident, in which the former declared, "that in truth the nomination had not been a good one; that the government would not make such a one again; but that being made, it must be maintained!"—*Impart. Reflect.* p. 10.

The most important and interesting part of the subject yet remains. How was this appeal to the Legislature received by the Chambers and by the public? As if to prepare for themselves a greater disgrace, the ministers, as we have seen, boasted to the Pope of the unanimity of the legislative assembly, in supporting their views of the contest between him and them. The result sadly belied their pretensions.

The Chamber of Deputies replied as follows:—

"The Chamber laments the state of collision with the Holy See in which the Imperial Government is placed; and hopes, that without injury to the royalties of the crown, or compromise of national interests, the government will provide, that our relations with the Head of the Universal Church shall not be altered; and therefore considers that, for the present, it is not competent to take any other measures."

The Senate answered in these terms:—

"It is painful to the Senate to learn, that the delicate conscience of his Holiness does not allow him to approve the presentation of a bishop of this diocese. Still the assurance which your Imperial Majesty gives of the continuance of amicable relations with the court of Rome, the respect and obedience which Y. I. M. protests (as was to be expected) to the Holy Father, as visible head of the Universal Church, give the Senate well-grounded hopes that the prudence and wisdom of Y. I. M. will employ such mild measures as, without impairing the dignity of the nation, will reconcile these differences. The Senate thus does not consider itself called upon to propose at present efficacious measures to maintain the dignity and rights of your Imperial Majesty's throne."

To understand better the sense of these answers, it must be noticed, that the real state of the question

had never been laid before the Chambers. Excepting the annual reports above quoted, in 1834 and 1835, most of the members could know little or nothing about it. It was the publication before us which fully opened their eyes and those of the public. Ministers had made the emperor declare, that *law and justice* were on one side, and only private scruples of conscience on the other. On this *ex parte* statement alone, they had to form a judgment. And yet the violent, extreme views of the ministry were so transparent through the measured phrases of the speech, that both houses declined acceding to its wishes. They naturally desired, that the dignity of the Crown and the interest of the nation should be preserved, in a case where they were unhesitatingly assured that law and justice supported them. But even then they manifestly disapproved of the past conduct of the ministers, and refused to support them in their future projects. They regret that any discord should have taken place, and reject the idea proposed in the speech (par. 4), of modifying the relations between the empire and the court of Rome. They decline taking into consideration the matter placed in their hands by the Regency, declaring themselves incompetent to take cognizance of it at present. This was all virtually disapproving the course proposed by the executive, especially when joined with the express desire that *mild measures* should be employed,—that is, measures of an exactly opposite character from those hitherto pursued. The debates in both chambers confirm this view. In the Deputies, a motion was negatived for going into a more detailed and specific examination of the measures suggested in the speech: and the speeches of many senators and deputies were eminently Catholic. The rights of the Holy See were ably pro-

tected, without an accurate acquaintance with the facts of the present case.

Two expressions in the addresses to the throne gave rise to considerable discussion. The first was the epithet *delicate* applied to the Pope's conscience, because the Portuguese word *melindroso* was equivocal, and might appear to bear the signification of *nice* or *precise*. But the marquis de Maricá, of whose character we have formed a high estimate from the perusal of his *Maximas e Pensamentos, &c.* (Rio de Janeiro, 1837), well remarked, that no one would for a moment imagine that a grave assembly like the senate, treating of so delicate a matter, could apply the word in an offensive sense to the Pope. The other expression was, "*for the present*," inserted in the addresses by the committees which prepared them in both chambers. Some thought that it might seem to hold out a threat against the Holy See, as though, on some future occasion, the Chambers might proceed to farther extremities. This interpretation, however, was overruled, and the phrase was understood to imply nothing more than that, *as matters stood then*, they saw no ground for interference to defend the honour of the state.

The voice of the legislative body manifestly condemned, from the outset, the precipitate and indecent conduct of ministers, and admitted the rights of the Holy See to use its liberty, of approving or not, the nomination made: and this before the entire case had been made public. But the appearance of our pamphlet, and especially the publication in it of the Strangford-Brazilian note, produced a louder peal of that popular opinion, which all along had warmly espoused the side of ecclesiastical independence against ministerial tyranny, and had approved the

Pope's objections to the imperial nominee. In the *Jornal do Commercio*, of Saturday, May 20, 1837, we have a full report of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies, which turned upon the foreign policy of ministers. Sr. Carneiro Leaõ censured its conduct in exchanging the residents at Rome and Lisbon, because, he said, "after the publication of a note from the former minister to the Holy See, of a nature to discredit Brazil with every court of Europe, it did not seem a proper moment for promoting him to the rank of envoy-extraordinary or minister-plenipotentiary, to a court at which there were delicate interests to maintain." Sr. Limpo de Abrēu, the champion of ministers on a former occasion, again rose in their defence. With respect to the note, he said he did not pretend to defend it, though he did not consider it a sufficient motive for striking the writer off the diplomatic list. Again, he repeated, he would not attempt to justify it, but still he thought there was a mistake. The occasions of Lord Strangford's and of the Brazilian government's negotiations were too dissimilar to allow the supposition that one copied the other's note. The only resemblance consisted in the expressions, "the Ottoman Porte is mistaken," and "the Holy See is mistaken" (laughter). Sr. Calmon then rose, and commenced with these words:—"Sir, Heaven grant me on this occasion the marvellous *sang-froid*, the inimitable disembarrassment, with which the noble ex-minister of Foreign Affairs has just defended the note to the Grand Turk, which one of our diplomatic agents has addressed to the Holy Father. *I will* speak of this affair presently." In *fact, after other* matters, he reverts to this.

"The noble deputy (Carneiro de Leaõ), speaking of one of our envoys who addressed to the Holy See a note nearly copied from that

which Lord Strangford presented to the Ottoman Porte, asks why he has been removed to Lisbon. I will venture to give the explanation he desires. He was removed—I beg pardon, he was promoted—for this very reason, that he had treated the Holy Father as the Grand Turk had been treated. I cannot persuade myself that that diplomatist, an able man, would have been guilty of so wretched a plagiarism, and have insulted the head of the Church, without being put up to it by government.....I characterize the plagiarism as wretched, because if the style of the English ambassador suited the representative of the civilization and power of Europe in addressing the sultan of Constantinople, certainly the same style (and even more exasperating and more insulting in some sentences) could not become the representative of a Christian nation addressing the Supreme Pontiff. Gentlemen, the history of this note is disgraceful to Brazil. I know that when the court of Rome received it, the Holy Father, justly hurt, ordered it to be communicated to the diplomatic body resident in Rome, which, if not the most influential, is, at least, the best-mannered court in Europe, and exacted from Voltaire himself the praise of high breeding. The diplomatic body expressed to his Holiness the feelings of disgust which the unbecoming character of that note had produced in its members; and I know, likewise, that the Hanoverian minister, who indirectly represents his Britannic Majesty, was peculiarly emphatic in expressing his condolence at the proceedings of our envoy. This individual was placed in a false position at Rome, and found himself acting alone."

The honourable deputy continued some time longer commenting most severely upon the insult to the Holy See; but we have given sufficient of his speech, which received no answer, to show how far the ministers could carry out their boastful threat, of pushing the war against the Holy See with an undivided Chamber of Deputies.

But the people were, in fact, against them. The liberal paper, *O sete d'Abril* (the 7th of April), in its number for May 27, 1837, republishes, in Portuguese, the two celebrated notes, heading them with the direction, "For Sr. Limpo d'Abrēu, the member who denied the identity or close resemblance of the two notes." But in an extraordinary number, dated

July 10, we have a bolder and stronger expression of the horror which the projected schism produced in the public mind. It consists in a correspondence, which, in addition to its own observations, has been the means of communicating to us a long extract of the *Echo*, a Lisbon paper, deprecating, in the strongest terms, the schismatical conduct of the Portuguese government.* The correspondent writes as follows :—

"The object [of the Lisbon question] is almost the same as is discussed here by the Catholics on one hand, and by the partisans of schism on the other; but as the latter will not yield to the authority of the Holy Church, but, on the contrary, contumaciously persist in enslaving the Spouse of Christ, contemning her most sacred disciplinar laws, &c., it is necessary to persist in the glorious endeavour to beat back schism. Much should I wish to apply the deplorable state in which Portugal is placed, to that into which Brazil is in danger of falling through the determined obstinacy and notes of our Strangfords, who respect the Vicar of Jesus Christ as they do the Grand Turk;—but I must leave this Turk to the prudent and enlightened reader."

We beg the reader's attention to the expressions in this extract which treat the conduct of the Brazilian ministers as an attack on the independence of the Church; because, while at variance with some vulgar ideas, they place the dispute in its proper light. It is not uncommon to consider the subjection of the Catholic Church, as established in different nations, to the Supreme Pontiff, as a certain degree of restraint and slavery. It is, in fact, the only true security for its independence. It has seldom been in free governments that so much jealousy has been felt of the close connection of the hierarchy with Rome. Perhaps the countries which allow this to the greatest extent are the United States, the British Empire, Belgium, and South America. On the other hand, Austria, Spain, and some petty states of Italy, not to speak of Pro-

testant, or other absolute monarchies, have for years exhibited great jealousy of Roman interference; and if the Church in France, in spite of the free institutions of the country, finds itself hampered and trammelled by the civil power, she has to thank the Bourbons, who so generously asserted the privileges of the Gallican Church, that she might be more completely under the sway and pressure of the civil power.[e] But, by having the supreme control in ecclesiastical affairs in the hands of a foreign spiritual authority, that can wield it without fear of those who look more to political than to religious interests in their appointments, the Church can never completely become the slave or tool of any temporal rulers. The Brazilian public, and its organ the press, have taken this view of the matter; and their attachment to liberty has made them just and impartial in its distribution. They wish the Church to be independent of the political party that happens to govern the state; and they feel that only the independence of the papal voice, in approving or rejecting its nominees, can effect this great object. On the other hand, we have constant complaints from the High Church Protestants of improper promotions to the bench, and of Socinianism itself having been enthroned upon

[e] [In revising this essay for republication in August, 1851, the writer feels how strangely some expressions in this paragraph will sound. England has just returned to the re-enactment of penal laws, especially coercive of intercourse between the Holy See and its spiritual subjects; while Austria has, not unfastened, but broken in pieces, all fetters put upon the Church; and Spain has, by a noble concordat, restored free action to the episcopate, and to the Holy See. France, too, has changed its form of government, and the Church has gained in liberty and lawful influence. Great Britain has thus shown itself the only country that retrogrades in religious freedom.]

it. The crown names, and issues its commands to the primate to consecrate, who being himself but a subject, has no power to resist. He gives institution, therefore, to a person whom he considers disqualified for the high office of a bishop. Were he co-ordinate with the nominating power, he might refuse.[f] The case of Rio Janeiro is not a solitary one even in this pontificate.[g] The present pope refused canonical institution in France to the Abbé Guillon for having held communion *in divinis* with Grégoire, though named by the king of the French to the see of Beauvais, in 1831. The king was consequently obliged to name another; and M. Guillon having given satisfaction to the Holy See, was created bishop *in partibus.* The same pontiff has refused to confirm the nomination of some Polish bishop, made by the Russian autocrat. His predecessor, Leo XII., denied institution to a nobleman named by the grand duke of Tuscany to the see of Massa and Populonia, he having been found at his examination deficient in requisite learning.[h] He likewise refused to sanction

[f] The reader will find grievous complaints against the dangers and mischiefs of the present system of nomination to bishoprics in the Anglican Church, by looking at the Church of England Quarterly Review for January of this year, No. v. pp. 116, *seqq.*, where the Church is energetically summoned to assert its rights, and *clamour* (p. 118, note) for the repeal of the præmunire which impends over the head of any bishop refusing to consecrate the nominee of the crown, *i. e.* of its minister. The writer, however, throws himself into one needless alarm,—to wit, that the ministry might choose a Catholic, and, of course, oblige the archbishop to consecrate him under pain of imprisonment and loss of chattels. We should like to know what Catholic would consent to receive consecration at his Grace's hands.

[g] [Of Gregory XVI.]

[h] All the bishops appointed in Italy and the adjacent islands are examined at Rome in theology and canon law, by a board of cardinals and divines appointed for that purpose.

the nomination of Don Fr. Nicolao de Almeida to a Portuguese bishopric, in consequence of errors contained in a work which he had published. In every instance, and in many more during the pontificates of Pius VI. and Pius VII., the civil power gave way, and named unobjectionable candidates. In the case of Brazil, where the rulers were not disposed to yield, the popular voice interfered, and insisted upon the preservation of ecclesiastical liberty. Further extracts from papers now before us will satisfactorily prove this.

The *Diario do Rio de Janeiro* for May 31, 1837, writes as follows:—"In this paper we have several times treated of the question regarding the Bulls of the bishop appointed for Rio de Janeiro, and always so as to show that his Holiness was in the right. This truth, which we once maintained in spite of many prejudices to the contrary, has now convinced every intelligent mind,—the parliamentary tribune, the periodical press, and powerful writings of an apologetic character, have happily combined to proclaim it, being in unison with the voice of the people, so ennobled in the old adage, '*Vox populi vox Dei.*' What remains is, that the illustrious patriot now at the head of judicial and foreign affairs, of whom we have always held the highest opinion, will at once put an end to this unfortunate question, in such manner as to merit the blessings of all good men in his country, whose consciences have for a long time been kept in a state of distress and agitation." The paper then recommends the *Impartial Reflections*, giving a very full analysis of the work.

The *Jornal dos Debates* of May 20, 1837, writes as follows:—"The reappearance of Sr. Manoel Alves Branco in the ministry, while yet are pending the

negotiations with the court of Rome, wherein he most grievously compromised the dignity of the Brazilian name, appears to us a fact as impolitic as it is contrary to the interests of the nation. The note of September 23, 1835, addressed to the Holy See by Sr. Alves Branco, while secretary of foreign affairs, is a subject of eternal disgrace to the Brazilian government . . . . This note, in addition to being a wretched and ridiculous plagiarism, wounds, in an indecent and brutal manner, the dignity of the head of the universal Church, the venerable pastor of the Catholic flock." It then gives the two notes. In its number of May 31, it gives a long extract from the *Impartial Reflections*, approving its sentiments.

The *Semanario do Cincinnato*, a Rio weekly paper, devotes its leading article of June 3 to the same subject, under the head of "The Government and the Holy See." After some preliminary observations relative to the *Impartial Reflections*, the writer proceeds as follows:—"We agree with the author of this work, that the government has displayed little prudence in treating this delicate affair.[1] It either recognises the existence of a right in the Holy See to confirm bishops, or not. If the first, why does it persist in requiring the Pope to act unfaithfully with his own conscience, and, through fear of menaces, give a forced consent? If the second, why was the business at all submitted to the consideration of the Holy See?" The writer then states the arguments of the ministerial party. "No doubt," he continues, "Brazil likewise has the power to separate itself, as some desire, from the foundation-stone

[1] We may note that the expression here used, is precisely the same as gave rise to a debate in the Senate,—"este *melindroso* negocio;" here, certainly, it is not used contemptuously.

of the Church established by Christ; but this is not the question: the point is, whether that power be based upon justice, or only upon arbitrariness and violence. On justice, no,—most certainly; for the Church of Peter is the mother of all Christianity, as has been satisfactorily proved by great writers." The article proceeds to vindicate the absolute right of the Holy See to approve or reject all nominations to bishopries, and then closes as follows:—"We conclude by entreating the government to look at this business in its proper light, through its duty towards the Holy See, and the advantage to the nation, which desires to continue Roman Catholic. Let no one be so mistaken as to say that nothing will be gained by this. Putting aside the compliance with duty, — the peace of men's minds will be secured.[k] By a contrary course, most sensible evils will come. If the experiment would not be so fatal, we should tell them to try it, that they might be undeceived. But no. We desire to be always Roman Catholics."

To conclude these testimonials of the public press, the *Jornal do Commercio*, which we before quoted only as reporting the debates on the matter, in its paper of May 30, 1837, adds its suffrage to the general voice, and pronounces a warm and merited encomium upon the little work before us. It approves of all its views, and of the tone in which it is written, and concludes in these words:—"Would to God that the business to which it relates may at last be concluded, to the

[k] Many readers will perhaps be surprised to learn that the writer sends ministers to this country to learn the mischiefs of a separation from Rome. We, on our parts, were glad to see this bold disclaimer of an opposite theory, and to find a newspaper acknowledging, or supposing, a higher standard of national happiness than industrial or financial prosperity.

mutual satisfaction of the Holy See and of Brazil. This is what all good men must certainly desire!".

The decided Catholic tone of so many organs of public opinion has, we acknowledge, delighted us. There is something generous in this vindication of an authority situated several thousand miles distant, and having itself no means to repel on the spot the assaults made against it. And it is very encouraging to find strong religious convictions thus impressed upon that class of publications, which generally study to catch the light topics of ephemeral gossip, or to amuse subscribers by trifling anecdote, rather than to engage their attention and interest for such grave and truly important matters.

Our readers will perhaps wish to know whether the public sense of right and justice has triumphed so far, as effectually to bar the nomination made. To Dr. Moura's credit, it must be said, that when the quarrel was pushed so much beyond discretion by the ministry, he desired, and proceeded, to tender his resignation; and so endeavoured to cease being an object of strife and discord between his country and the Holy See. But the government would not consent to accept this sensible offer, determined as it was to push the contest to extremities. A change of ministry having occurred, this offer was, we believe, acceded to. The objectionable nomination has, therefore, been withdrawn; although as yet the see of Rio de Janeiro remains vacant and under administration.

There are yet three works cited at the head of our article, which have not been referred to; and as we did not mean to place them there merely for display, we proceed very briefly to notice them. The title of No. 2, which we have given at length, will sufficiently explain our motive for joining it to the others.

It is an echo of the sentiments of the Brazilian public from beyond the boundaries of its empire, and the reach of political jealousies or interests. To those acquainted with the biography of St. Catherine of Sieña, the occasion of publishing an encomium of her virtues will not appear unsuitable to the object proposed in the title. That most extraordinary saint, whose writings enter into the rank of classics in Italian literature, devoted herself at a tender age to the extirpation of schism, with wonderful success; and convinced Pope Gregory XI. that it was the divine will he should return from Avignon to Rome. The writer has, therefore, added to his sermon an appendix of twenty-eight pages, in which he warmly insists upon the necessity of preserving ecclesiastical unity, through an unbroken communication with the Apostolic See. In § 4, he proceeds to treat of the conduct of the Brazilian Government; expresses his astonishment at the blindness of those that conducted it, and gives unqualified praise to the archbishop of Bahia (the Primate), to the dean and chapter of Rio, and to the apostolic delegate, all of whom have acted the part which the Church expected from them, in their respective capacities. The remaining portion of the appendix contains, in a similar strain, an earnest and learned vindication of ecclesiastical independence. We applaud the zeal, the learning, and the sound principles of the author.

The "Memoir upon the Right of Primacy" is a translation from the French of Monsig. Hirn, bishop of Tournay, who distinguished himself on occasion of the memorable Council of Paris, convoked by Napoleon in 1811. This translation was most seasonably made and published: it was read with avidity, and produced a change in the sentiments of many, who before had

weighed the matter less seriously. It is an additional proof of the interest which the public took in this religious discussion.

The last work which we have placed at the beginning of our article, is the eighth number of a religious journal carried on at Rio; and, though bearing a Latin title, written in Portuguese. We should have been glad to possess more numbers of the series, as it is impossible from one to form a correct judgment of its views or principles. However, when we see the greater portion of this taken up with the Encyclical of the present pope to the bishops of Switzerland, in 1835, directed against the usurpations of the ecclesiastical rights by the civil legislature of several cantons, we cannot for a moment doubt, that the spirit which presides over the compilation of the journal is soundly Catholic. The rest of the number is taken up with an account of the missions of Paraguay, and religious selections in prose and verse—some of the former from Challoner.

We have derived no small satisfaction from the perusal of these various works, and from the examination of the great practical questions to which they refer. They have led us to feel more than ever that the true basis of religion is in the hearts of the people, rather than in the heads of their rulers; and that, however useful and satisfactory it may be to see these respecting and publicly honouring the hierarchy, or lending it the moral weight of their avowed convictions and religious zeal, its holiest interests become endangered in proportion to the degree of actual interference which is allowed them in its affairs. Spain and Portugal are lamentable instances of this truth. The people remain unalterably fixed in their attachment to the ancient faith, while their rulers have conducted the

one country into the gulf of schism, and the other to its verge. In spite of every prohibition, daily recourse is had to Rome from the clergy of Portugal, for faculties, where, their own superiors being intruders, are not empowered to grant them; and from the laity, for dispensations and privileges beyond the jurisdiction of local ecclesiastical authorities. In Spain it is the same, though there, in fact, no breach has taken place with the Holy See. Within these few weeks, we have read with pleasure, that the municipal authorities of one of the principal Christino cities (Valentia) have put a stop to the labours of the Bible-and-tract-men, who were taking advantage of the confusion to sow tares in the field of Christ. And the papers of that party applauded this decisive conduct of the magistracy, observing that, in the present disturbed state of Spain, religious dissension and warfare would indeed be the finishing stroke to their country's misery. We have it from undoubted authority, that during the last month one commercial house alone paid into the Roman Dataria, in the course of ten days, 30,000 dollars, as fees in ecclesiastical affairs. The money and the business connected with it came from Madrid, with the full knowledge and consent of persons high in the Christino interest. And we have no doubt that, sooner or later, when the political troubles of the two countries cease, the Catholic religion and its holy Church will recover their proper influence, and the hearts of the people will rejoice to see peace of conscience and quietness of government once more restored.

There is something singular in reading the sincere lamentations uttered by almost all the writers we have reviewed, over the blindness of these their parent countries, and their sincere remonstrances with them

at having allowed the bane of schismatical feeling to poison their political struggles. It is a solemn but a pleasing thing, to hear a voice from across the ocean, teaching the duty of spiritual obedience to nations that stand almost under the shadow of Peter's throne; the voice of republics and of free constitutional monarchy (but lately considered outlaws and rebels), boldly reproving the Most Catholic and Most Faithful Monarchies for swerving from fidelity to the Catholic Church. We hail its sound with joy, as one note in that grand accord which the unity of faith and the communion of love, throughout the universal Church, raise on earth; the only meet symbol, as it is the echo, of the harmony of a sublime sphere.

PAPER

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for Aug.* 1842.

[This essay would scarcely have been thought worthy of republication, but for the recent establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England. It will show the writer's views on the subject nearly ten years ago; and how little idea there was of interfering with the laws of the country by ecclesiastical enactments. Nor has he found it necessary to modify a single sentiment then expressed. This paper was written during a journey to Rome, and was, therefore, less full than the subject required.]

A

PAPER

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION.

ART. VII.—*Concilia Provincialia, Baltimori habita, ab Anno* 1829 *usque ad Annum* 1840. *Provincial Councils, held at Baltimore, from* 1829 *to* 1840. Baltimore, 1842: pp. 208.

THE volume before us comes like a voice across the ocean, from "the far west;" a voice in which are mingled sounds of reproach and of encouragement,—something that makes us look on the past and present with humiliation, and on the future with hope. In 1791, Dr. Carrol, bishop of Baltimore, was the only Catholic prelate in North America. In that year he held a diocesan synod: about twenty priests attended it; and in its five sessions, held in due form, many wise and edifying decrees were made, the utility of which the American hierarchy acknowledge in their provincial synod of 1829. At the close of the council, the bishop announced his intention of requesting from the Holy See the erection of an additional diocese, or the nomination of a coadjutor. In 1810, being now archbishop, he held a species of provincial convention, rather than synod, with his three suffragans. In 1829 the first formal provincial council of Baltimore was held; the fourth met in 1840. At it twelve prelates of the United States assisted: several bishops were wanting, from vacancies of sees, or other

causes. These synods are conducted with all the formalities prescribed by the Pontifical; — begun by their proper prayers, carried on in sessions, and divided into public and private congregations, and terminated by the usual acclamations, by the issue of synodical statutes, and by application to the Holy See for favours, enactments, or instructions, such as the assembled prelates think expedient for the general good. The acts of the synod, here briefly described, including the diocesan synod of 1791, form the contents of the work before us, — one of those local contributions to the great repertory of Catholic discipline and Catholic piety, the *Acta Conciliorum*, which do so much honour to the Church dispersed; form splendid proofs of its thorough unity; are glorious demonstrations of its vigour and energy, in its most distant and most infant portions; and are the great pledges and security of the wisdom, the prudence, the zeal, and the holiness, as well as the unanimity, which would reign in a general council, should the Universal Church be again convoked. Bishops thus trained in their provinces, could not fail to do their duty effectively on the wide arena of an œcumenical synod. The provincial synods of Baltimore will in time take their place with those of Orleans or Toledo in ancient times, or of Milan, under the sainted Charles, in more modern days, and be a monument of the immense progress made, in the course of a few years, by the Catholic Church in that country. These considerations naturally reflect themselves back upon ourselves. Whatever difference there may have existed between Catholic North America and England a few years ago, on the score of ecclesiastical liberty, may be said to be now fully removed, and we may therefore ask ourselves the question: Are we approximating

to a similar state of ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION? If not, whence comes it? The expression which we have just used may easily be misinterpreted. The thoughts of many readers will probably at once turn to the long and warmly-debated question of the re-establishment of a regular hierarchy in England. It may be thought that we intend to discuss this important matter; it will in fact be considered the principal point in an article designated as this is. Now, it is better to prevent all disappointment at the outset, by a clear and explicit declaration of our sentiments and intentions. We leave, therefore, to every one his own opinion on the subject of ecclesiastical government; assuring all, that what we intend to urge on our Catholic readers will not be much affected by their either desiring a hierarchy, or not. But our own views are as follows:—first, we consider the form of ecclesiastical government under which we are, as necessarily a temporary and transitory one, preparatory to a settled and normal state; secondly, we are not, on that account, anxious for changes, or desirous of hurrying matters; but, possessing the greatest confidence, not merely in the personal character of those who, by God's appointment, govern the Church, but still more in the guidance of that Holy Spirit who rules her destinies, we are willing to leave, with affectionate reliance, to their judgment to whom the decision belongs, every question of time, and mode, and extent, which such organic changes involve; thirdly, we are disposed rather to inquire what is *our* duty at present, and how its discharge may influence the future. Such, therefore, is our purpose now. Every one has his own ideas on the benefits that would result from such arrangements as he would prefer. But when such arrangements cannot be

obtained, few occupy themselves with thinking how far the same benefits might be secured without them. We easily imagine that certain results would be consequences of a given plan, and take no pains to procure them independently of it: nay, we will say more; what seem consequences may be antecedents, and the best ones too for securing what we so much desire. Let us come, therefore, to the point. Let us suppose that the Holy See thought the time come, to bestow upon England the advantages of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is of course believed that important benefits would flow from the institution. We trust this would be the case. But would the benefits result from the mere name? from the translation of our bishops from sees *in partibus infidelium* to titles within our island? from the change of designation which our clergy would receive? Would there be a spell in the term *diocese* which *district* has not? in the name of *parish*, beyond that of *mission*?

> "Write them together,—this is as fair a name;
> Sound them,—it doth become the mouth as well;
> Weigh them,—it is as heavy."

But our hopes are built, and justly, not on mere changes of titles and names, but on the new organization which our ecclesiastical state would receive, the greater regularity which would be given to its operation, the greater definitiveness communicated to its laws, the more perfect uniformity stamped on its operations. Now, we may fairly ask, could not many of these advantages, for such they undoubtedly are, be attained without waiting for any great change? Do they not depend in great measure upon ourselves? Further, would they not, in a future contingency, depend mainly upon our own efforts to secure them? Would not that new organization, those new combi-

nations, have to be the fruit of great energy, great application, great patience, and, what is still more important, great sacrifices on our parts? They would not spring up like flowers under our feet, beneath the magic of a new ecclesiastical nomenclature. They would have to be weighed, studied, discussed, arranged, — almost, in some instances, created. They would have to occupy the time and thoughts of more than one person; and no small share of intellect and learning would be necessary for the purpose. Now, what pledge or assurance have we, that at any future period we shall be more fit, or more ready, to take all that trouble, than we are now? If the advantages which must result from a more perfect ecclesiastical organization than we possess, do not animate us to be at the pains of procuring it, so far as may be compatible with our actual state, who can tell us, that, upon a modification of that state, we shall set vigorously to work to institute such a new, complete, but withal more complicated, system?

Again, we will ask of such as anxiously long for the time for maturing our ecclesiastical constitution into the ordinary form of Church government, how we are most likely to hasten the period? Is it not by showing all things, as well as ourselves, prepared for the change? by exhibiting the machinery already at work, which will then be immediately necessary? by proving ourselves equal to the new demands that will then be made upon us, not by promises, but by acts; not in the future, but through the past? We trust, then, to be pardoned all seeming presumption, if we enter more in detail into this interesting topic, so naturally suggested to us by the American volume before us. The Catholic public has kindly granted us hitherto its confidence; and has not disdained to

listen when we have boldly spoken of its wants and duties. We have come forward courageously in defence of truth; we have devoted ourselves sincerely, fearlessly, and perseveringly to the controversies of the age; have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to unravel their intricacies, and to open their novel features to the notice of our brethren. In fine, we have conscientiously striven to discharge our public duty in all that regards the external relations of our Church; and we will fearlessly rely upon credit being given us for the sincerity of our motives and the disinterestedness of our zeal, if we now venture to address ourselves to the more delicate topic of our own internal organization. We may individually be unworthy of notice as of name; we might, if we followed our own inclinations, leave to better hands,—to hands that we would kiss with veneration,—the handling of such a theme; but we feel that, as intrusted by the Catholic public with a certain commission to record the feelings, the exigencies, and the great movements of the times, and to make our publication the repertory of the important religious questions of our stirring day, we should be wanting in our duty were we to shrink from respectfully, but plainly, stating what we believe no time should be lost in performing. And we will add, that in whatever we may write that shall seem to savour of censure, we sincerely include ourselves; and that if we use the conventional form of the first person plural, it is not here that we may escape individuality under the shelter of a vague generality, but because likewise we wish to be included in whatever of blame, as well as of hopefulness, the subject before us may suggest. With this proviso, we proceed to illustrate in detail the general observations already made.

It is clear, that in Catholic countries the laws whereby ecclesiastical administration and ecclesiastical usages are regulated, are of a fixed, stable, and uniform character.[a] In other words, there exists in those countries a *code* of laws, recognised by all parties. This code is known as the CANON LAW. It is generally understood, that were a change to take place in our hierarchical constitution in England, we should become subject to this ecclesiastical legislature; and this no doubt would be a decided advantage. And at first sight it may appear a simple matter at once to enter into possession of it. They, however, who have only taken a little pains to examine the form of that code, will pronounce very differently. The canon law, consisting of various collections of ecclesiastical laws; as the Decree of Gratian, the Decretals, the Extravagantes, &c., is an indigested mass of decisions of various ages, of unequal authority, on every possible religious subject, and not unfrequently of an apparently contradictory tenor. It is true that digests are not wanting, in which the various decrees are classified under proper titles, and collected together from the different parts of the code; but even these collections occupy, with such brief annotations as are quite indispensable, several folio volumes. It is no trifling study to go through these, and become master of their contents. Nor will the reading of "courses" or text-books, intended for schools, supply their place. These may be very useful; but canon law will never be known without attention to the *corpus juris* itself.

[a] [It must, however, be observed, that in almost every Catholic country, the action or application of this code is modified, restrained, or defined, by concordat. But these limitations, or variations, are themselves definite, and give the rules by which ecclesiastical matters are to be regulated.]

One might as well talk of being a lawyer after having read Blackstone, without knowing anything of the statutes at large. Now let us suppose ourselves placed in such circumstances as would require the decisions of the canon law to be our guide,—can we say that we are ready to apply them? that we should not be taken by surprise, and have then to begin a very complicated, and very irksome, duty?

But let us come more home to our purpose. If ever the canon law did come into force (according to the common supposition), by a modification of our Church government, a serious difficulty, unconnected with any actual ignorance on our parts at present, would present itself. The whole body of that legislature has been framed under, and in contemplation of, circumstances totally different from those in which we should have to apply it. It supposes the Roman law to be in activity (not to say that it consequently supposes an acquaintance with its decisions); it supposes a co-operation on the part of the state, the recognition of independent ecclesiastical tribunals, the free exercise of religion and of ecclesiastical functions, the proper and legalized existence of provision for all clerical offices; in one word, it supposes the enforcers and the subjects of the code to be living under a Catholic government, and, alas! such a government as hardly a single Catholic state now presents. To reduce, therefore, the canon law to practice in this country, a most important discrimination and separation would have to be made in its provisions; that is, a division into what would, and what would not, be compatible with our then actual position, as subjects of a Protestant state, which will not recognise a single ecclesiastical act, save through the process of secular forms, and the sanction of temporal enactments. Now

in all this it is manifest that we could have but little assistance from others; that the study, necessary to make such a division, must be domestic, and peculiarly our own.[b] For it would soon be discovered that the points on which Catholic governments chiefly prevent the free execution of canonical decrees, would be those in which we might most completely observe them. For instance, the election and confirmation of bishops is, in almost every Catholic country, now regulated by a concordat, which takes the nomination out of the hands of chapters, and vests it in the crown. We should not, we trust, ever have to submit to such fetters; but the very indifference of our government to our interests would leave us unshackled in regard to this most important matter. Yet, how numerous, complicated, and most delicate are the various provisions for the cases which may arise in this part of Church discipline! The questions lately discussed in reference to the archbishopric of Cologne may well satisfy us of this. Now here we should derive but little benefit for our guidance from the practice of other countries, but must study for ourselves.

This is one example out of many which we purposely pass over; the more so as others will arise in the course of our discussion. The conclusions to which we must come are obvious. First, how do we expect to get at once at the practical knowledge which may one day be required from us, of such grave and difficult matters? Will any new light be vouchsafed us? or

[b] [The "Statutes of the Diocese of Digne," by its late bishop, Mgr. Sibour, now archbishop of Paris, were compiled by him for the express purpose of bringing into harmonious action the ecclesiastical and civil laws. It was a work of a character similar to this (not then published) that was suggested in the text.]

shall we then begin to study, digest, and prepare, when we shall have to conclude, to know, and to apply? Is it not better to have all that prepared beforehand? or shall there be found no authoritative exposition, applicable to our country, of the code which will have to govern us? Will private judgment have to decide the interpretation and applicability, and application of the various decrees? If so, what shall we have gained towards a definite, clear, and uniform system of government? But, secondly, will that study and labour be more urgent and proper then than it is now? We answer, scarcely; for it must be want of acquaintance with the body of law contained in the canon law that suggests the idea, that it would come into force for the first time, upon the establishment of a hierarchy. We have seen that it would be applied even then only in part. Now the same consideration is as true now. It *is*, even now, in part applicable. And what security have we that we shall, in a future contingency, take more pains to see how it is to apply, than we do now? For we are certainly overlooking the advantages which an ecclesiastical organization on the principles of canon law, so far as it is possible, would confer on us. This code may be considered under two aspects. It contains decisions and principles supposing a hierarchical constitution; but it likewise contains many more that are independent of it. It has much that applies to chapters, prebends, parishes, metropolitans, and suffragans; much that refers to judicial examinations; witnesses, testaments, &c.; the former of which is not now, and the latter perhaps never will be, applicable to us. But it likewise has much that relates to the episcopal and priestly duties, in matters belonging to their primary and sacerdotal functions, and much that appertains to their relation with their flocks, which it

would be most useful, most religiously beneficial, to have even now brought out, well known, and established as practical principles. And if this be neglected by us at present, will not future calls for precision be as likely to be overlooked?

By way of illustration, let us take the subject of benefices and presentations. Supposing a hierarchy to exist, it is highly improbable, that, for many years at least, its appointment would lead our faithful to alter their plan with regard to ecclesiastical endowments. Very few more of these would, in consequence of such a measure, be invested with the conditions required by the canon law, to constitute a benefice properly so called, or conferring the rights secured to such a provision. In fact, we see insuperable difficulties to it; especially in our present arrangements for clerical education. Whatever application, therefore, of canon law, may be at some future time requisite, or expedient on this subject, may be, nay *is*, as requisite at present. What is the consequence of our want of this? Why, that during the last twenty years and more, we have been agitated by the repetition of the same disputes regarding the *jus patronatus*, and right of presentation; harassed by the same discussion of the same texts, the same assertions, and the same denials; and scandalized, too often, by the same unseemly conduct towards ecclesiastical dignity and authority, such as has been lately exhibited towards one of our prelates, the model of every ecclesiastical virtue,[c] in a pamphlet wholly unfit to be further alluded to, on a question now pending of presentation. How much should we not have gained—for the very prevention of evil is gain—had we known, upon authority to which all would submit, what was the extent to which the definitions

[c] [The late saintly Bp. Mostyn.]

of the canon law would be considered applicable to our state, and what were the practical rules whereby the rights of the bishop and the patron could be respectively determined. We should not then have seen the most contradictory expositions of the same matter of ecclesiastical discipline, still less the offensive and degrading legal arguments employed, whereby the functions of a successor of the apostles are brought down to the level of a mere conventicle preacher, and the rule over God's altar treated on equality with the rights of a speculator in meeting-house buildings. Now, if we have already felt the serious inconvenience of such a state of uncertain legislation, and are likely to feel it again long before we have a hierarchy, nay, if we shall be no better off in regard to this matter, even when a hierarchy exists, why wait for a future indefinite period, and not at once proceed to secure to ourselves that complete organization in this regard, which need not be delayed?

What, then, our readers will perhaps ask us, is our practical remedy? For it would be mere superciliousness on our part to blame, and make no suggestions for an improvement. We answer, then, let a small but active commission be appointed, by proper authority, approved even, if necessary, by the Apostolic See, composed of persons of acknowledged prudence, sagacity, learning, and application; so situated as to have access not only to the best works, but still more to living and experienced authorities, well versed in the condition of our country, its laws and customs. Let them, with unwearied diligence, go through the whole body of canon law, sifting every decree, and culling thence whatever is now, or may hereafter be, applicable to us; consulting actual practice, especially in countries situated similarly to our own, and exemplifying with proper cases whatever might give rise to doubt or

perplexity. We do not see much difficulty in executing such a plan; very few years would suffice for maturing it, and giving us its fruits.

Hitherto we have spoken entirely of the canon law; the same may be said of every other element of Church government. The American collection before us naturally suggests one. We must wait, it is true, for a hierarchy, before we can hope to hold a provincial council; but there is no need of waiting till then for diocesan synods. Benedict XIV. in his classical work on this subject, has clearly laid down and proved, that vicars apostolic are as fully entitled to hold them as bishops in ordinary. Now, though far greater would be the benefits of a provincial or national convention of bishops, there can be no doubt that those resulting from local councils (which moreover would be the best preparation for more general ones), would be immense, far beyond what can be supplied by any other substitution. There the clergy, with their bishop at their head, would be parties to all the statutes passed, would subscribe to them at the foot of the altar, after the solemn sacrifice had there been offered up to implore the light of the Spirit of Truth on their deliberations and decisions: these would have a serious weight upon their minds, in consequence of the sublime and venerable prayers which would have sanctioned them, and the sacred character of the entire assembly. The statutes thus framed would secure to each district at least decision, uniformity, and clearness of proceeding, upon points now left vague, doubtful, or of private judgment; in other words, there would be a compact ecclesiastical organization in each district, and it would not be difficult afterwards to bring all these well-ordered parts into a homogeneous and harmonious unity.

The same may be said of other ecclesiastical forms,

not as yet adopted, but as practicable with us as in Catholic countries; nay, almost of every form of ecclesiastical proceeding which the Church in her wisdom has thought proper to define and to insert either in her Ritual or her Pontifical. We can hardly conceive, for instance, the form of visitation prescribed in the latter to be observed without its proving a perfect guarantee for the decency of God's holy place, and the perfect order of all that remotely or immediately appertains to His worship. It would relieve the local pastor of the often painful and invidious duty of reproving his flock for their neglect on this score, and of appealing to their charity and generosity; and it would soon be a matter of ambition to deserve the commendation, rather than the blame, of the superior authority. In like manner, why should not all the formalities required by the laws of the Church respecting the erection of confraternities, nay, even of religious houses, be observed, proper petitions made, deeds and charters granted, and the privileges and rules be sanctioned by the proper authorities of the Church? Surely in all these and many other matters, there exists no obstacle to a proper ecclesiastical organization now; and whatever advantages we might later hope for, may be at once possessed.

If we descend to matters of more current use, the same reasoning will apply. Any one who goes into the chancery of a bishop ruling over a small diocese in a Catholic country, and sees for how many individuals it furnishes unceasing occupation, — some of them obliged to have taken the highest degree in theology or law, — will conclude that the system of ecclesiastical business there followed must go very much into detail; and so in fact it does. Though much that is there done would not be wanted with us,

yet there is much to be advantageously copied. We may instance the exact manner in which all that relates to matrimonial dispensations is transacted and recorded; not to speak of ordinations, faculties, &c. Of course we presume that all such matters, belonging as they do to a department of offices beyond our sphere of observation, are accurately attended to; but we believe it is in a more private and less official form than abroad. The same attention paid to the forms prescribed in the Ritual (so far as our unhappy circumstances will permit), in the discharge of even secondary duties, would soon complete a system of ecclesiastical organization, such as would secure to us at once many blessings and advantages now contemplated as with a prophet's eye, and sighed for as though yet shut up in the womb of futurity.

But there yet remains a great difficulty to meet. We surely are not so blind as to imagine that great advantages can ever be purchased without corresponding sacrifices. Are we ready on all hands to make them? If not, *shall* we be, when the time comes for which many look? Is not this a case in which we may fairly argue prospectively from the present? The more perfect system of ecclesiastical organization which we contemplate will require, come when it may, a surrender of conveniences, privileges, and cherished advantages. The transaction of business will involve trouble, more attention to minute forms, more reading and writing and consulting, than we have perhaps been accustomed to. Some delays, too, may occur; and what before could be done, so to speak, off-hand, will have to go through a prescribed routine. All this may be irksome; but no good will ever be done without such provisions. Again, can it be the serious idea of the Catholic body,

that a hierarchy can be granted while those who constitute it are left in their present condition? We have no hesitation in saying that it would be almost unbecoming in the Holy See, to appoint bishops who, through the apathy or poverty of their flocks, are constrained to have committees to appeal on their behalf to public charity. Without a proper, at least a decent provision for the necessary exigencies of a hierarchy, it is folly, we think, to expect it. Even Australia has run before us in the race, we have no doubt in no small part, on this very account. And surely such a provision should be made at once, and not have to be thought of when it is urgent. Nay, the want of it will be a main obstacle to the idea of a change of system being ever entertained. That preliminary organization which we have most imperfectly and hurriedly described in this article, requires, moreover, that whatever may at a future period be necessary, should be set about at once.

Our proposal is simple. Let us set to work, clergy and laity, to secure to ourselves as many of the advantages of a hierarchical organization as our present state will admit of. Let us make ourselves "a Church" as nearly as our past sufferings and present destitution will allow. Let us eagerly seize on all present blessings, as the best means of deserving and of qualifying ourselves for greater and future ones. No doubt much has been done for the material renovation of our state. We have gathered together the scattered stones of our profaned sanctuary, and have builded them up into a second temple, inferior to the first, but still not without its glories. The fire has been rekindled upon the altar; the priests have sounded again their trumpets, and proselytes have crowded to the solemnity. But the rule of the Holy

City is not yet restored; the republic of God is under temporary provision of government; its priests and rulers have not yet been fully ordered, classified, or made able, with full efficacy, to display the beauties of their ministry. This is what we now want. Let us show our separated neighbours that within our Church remains at all times an indestructible energy, a sap of life, which can make a withered trunk put forth branches, a chance-scattered seed grow up into a mighty tree; that we can not only erect beautiful temples to the God of our fathers, but soon construct, in compact unity of design, a living, holy, and powerful Church.

THE

FATE OF SACRILEGE.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for Sept.* 1846.

THE

FATE OF SACRILEGE.

ART. IX.—*The History and Fate of Sacrilege.* By SIR HENRY SPELMAN. *Edited in part from two MSS., revised and corrected, with a continuation, large additions, and an Introductory Essay.* By two Priests of the Church of England. London: Masters, 1846.

WE have long been looking out for this republication of Sir H. Spelman's posthumous work, and it appears at a moment which seems to us most propitious. It is not indeed likely that the holders of old Catholic Church property will become alarmed, and restore their ill-gotten possession to us again; for, as we shall see, but few descendants of the original grantees of Church property now hold it; and it would be difficult to expect such a sacrifice from those who have gained it through purchase, or other indirect modes.[a] It is not, therefore, from any idea that Sir Henry Spelman's fearful tale of judgments upon Church despoilers, will awaken slumbering consciences to restitution, that we are glad to see his work printed in a popular form, and with such valuable additions. If we calculate upon any gain from it, it

[a] We have, however, known several instances lately, where property has come into Catholic hands by purchase or inheritance, where a portion of it, consisting of impropriation of tithes, has been settled, or spent, upon religious objects. The *former* is, however, the only true way of dealing with it with security.

is rather from the hope that sensible and religious minds will reason thus: If God by such visible judgments punishes those who destroy, plunder, or profane places, things, or persons once consecrated to Him and His poor, is it not reasonable to hope that He will bless those who redress such sacrilegious violence, and repair, restore, or newly give what is needful for religious and charitable purposes?

But independently of such considerations, we think that the republication of this work will necessarily prove useful. It will disgust people more and more with that terrible event in English history, the horrors of which have been gilded by the name of Reformation; and some will ask themselves, can that have been God's work, which was conducted by the wholesale commission of a crime, which till then had been rare in Christendom? Can that have been His work, which throughout was a systematic plundering of whatever had been dedicated to Him? Can that have been His work, which brought down vengeance from Heaven upon all who shared it? In truth, the more the public mind is informed on the real history and character of that revolution and rebellion against God and His Church, the more will it be led to abhorrence of the ungodly event, and sympathy for all that it overthrew. For our parts, we sometimes ask ourselves with no small amazement, *what* is there now left for men to cling to in that event, or to justify to them the name which they give it? The antiquarian, like Mr. Paley or Mr. Neale, loathes its profane and sacrilegious destruction of sacred edifices and holy things; the liturgist, like Mr. Maskell, deplores the abolition of ancient offices, and the presumption of abrogating the "apostolic canon of the Mass;" the ascetic sees nothing but loss in the overthrow of all

mystical devotion and feeling worship; the friend of charity regrets the ruin of those institutions by which the poor were succoured and instructed, and a refuge was opened to repentant or afflicted spirits; and the theologian laments over the imperfection and deficiency of the new formularies of faith then sanctioned, over the indefiniteness of belief which they have introduced, the heretical doctrines which they tolerate, and the removal of the safeguards of truth which they have affected. In fact, what *did* the Reformation change, which sensible and devout men would not give much to get back? Truly, it is hard to say; but we believe that the *gains*, which any but very violent Protestants would reckon, would be mostly negatives. We would defy any one to state the smallest amount of positive good, which it brought into the English Church.

But to pursue this subject would lead us far astray; we will resume, therefore, our present matter, by repeating, that Sir H. Spelman's "History of Sacrilege" will do good to the truth, by giving additional evidence of the frightful amount of execrable crime which formed an essential part, instrument, and development of the Reformation.

The editors have enlarged the original work by much additional matter, and they have also illustrated the text by careful collations; but their most valuable improvement on the old editions consists in their preliminary essay, which occupies nearly one hundred and thirty pages. The object of this is to prove in a more systematic form, what Spelman's work aims at doing at once by evidence. It is as the counsel's speech premised to the calling of witnesses. Without some such introductory dissertation, the full force of Spelman's reasoning would not have been felt by

many readers; and in this age of little faith, objections might, and would probably, have been raised against it, which it was prudent and wise to anticipate and solve. Yet for us, such a course must be unnecessary. Were any one to write "The History and Fate of Murder," there is not a single reader, we are convinced, who, on taking it up, would not be prepared to find it contain a series of facts, all demonstrative of the wonderful pursuit of the murderer by divine justice, and of the strange and unexpected ways in which it has often overtaken him. The most astute lawyer, and the most obtuse peasant, would equally agree, how much there is clearly providential in the detection and punishment of this crime; so that the proverb, "Murder will out," is almost as much a legal aphorism as a homely saying. Now, they who hold sacrilege to be an enormous crime (and no one who has read Scripture or learnt his Catechism can believe otherwise), will be equally prepared to find it punished by God in some signal way; at least will easily yield to the evidence of facts, that the case is so. Again, whoever believes in Providence, and in its punishment of crime, will as naturally expect that the chastisement will be of a peculiar character for this offence; because experience, and the common consent of men, concur in admitting such an allotment of peculiar judgments for peculiar transgressions. Some of these are inherent in the sin; but others present no necessary connection with it, yet still are clearly analogous and appropriate.

Thus a sinful addiction to mere sensual enjoyment and the gratifying of animal appetites, will lead to the destruction of the power of indulging them—will consume the frame, destroy vigour, form, complexion,

bring an early decrepitude and disease into the limbs and the vitals, and, in quaint phrase, soon make "a wreck of the rake," as a warning to others not to run upon the same rock. What demonstration do we require that "pride will have a fall," or, in more sacred phrase, that "pride goeth before destruction, and the spirit is lifted up before a fall?" (Prov. xvi. 18.) Who would ever be surprised at being told that one, who had been hard-hearted to the poor, a harsh and oppressive landlord, and an extortioner, was come himself to want, and was brought down to humble himself to obtain his bread? or who thinks it other than a most probable story, that the pirate, who cut away the bell from the Inchcape rock, should himself be shipwrecked on it? or that a man who had amassed wealth by cheating his clients, or by plundering his wards, or by usurious contracts, should see it clean melt in his hands like snow, and flow away like water in a sieve, approving the sayings of all ages, "Male parta, male dilabuntur;" and "ill-gotten, ill-spent."

Now, if the fate of sacrilegious men be shown, through history, to be such as by natural analogy, as well as by religious principles, seems to present an appropriate and well-proportioned punishment of their crime, we cannot see how any one can refuse to consider it as a punishment from God, unless he either deny at once that there is such a crime, or that Providence ever interferes to inflict chastisement.

And first, as to the appropriateness of the punishment. Let it be observed, that a punishment will be the more appropriate, in proportion as it better defeats the objects of the crime; and that, not merely on the principle of retributive justice, but as a warning to others, who will be deterred from committing the sin, if they see that it hinders, instead of promoting, what

they desire by it. Thus, as we have seen, unjust acquisition will have its righteous retribution in poverty and want. Sacrilege may be divided into two classes, according to the principle which suggests and directs its commission. It may be an act of sudden violence, the momentary work of passion; sacred places may be profaned, and holy things broken, destroyed, or carried off by a licentious soldiery in war, whether through rage, or through covetousness; and persons consecrated to God may be ill-treated in anger, or through revenge. To this class of sacrilege, resulting from an evil passion, committed under its passing influence, belong most of the sacrileges of ancient times—such, in fact, as preceded the Reformation. But well may Spelman, on coming to this period in his history, exclaim:—"I am now come out of the rivers into the ocean of iniquity and sacrilege" (p. 131). For then, for the first time, was witnessed systematic sacrilege, sacrilege by law, by principle, coolly calculated, unflinchingly executed, not cloaked over with excuses, but plainly avowed, justified, boasted of as a good work; sacrilege universal in its character, not allowing any one possible branch or form of the crime to be overlooked; embracing saints, cardinals, bishops, priests, clerks, monks, friars, nuns, the sick and the poor, the aged and the child; cathedrals, abbeys, monasteries, convents, chantries, hospitals, schools; taking hold of manors, glebes, farms, buildings, rights, rents, and every possible species of property; seizing and appropriating, and turning to profane use, everything sacred, —iron-work, and stone-work, and wood-work, roofs and bells, altars and church furniture, shrines, tabernacles, holy vessels, and plate of every kind; plundering and confiscating, breaking, burning, razing, wresting, murdering by violence or by course of law. No person,

no place, no thing, no mode was overlooked, through which sacrilege could be committed. But this fully-planned and fully-executed villainy clearly was not the fruit of an outburst of passion: it had a purpose and an end. The king and his counsellors wished and intended to enrich themselves, and to leave to their children and their families for ever the broad lands and rich treasures accumulated through ages in the Church. They fully designed to "build up their own houses," with the stones of the sanctuary; to make their descendants rich with the spoils of the temple. Now, whatever additional punishment, in body or mind, in goods or reputation, it may have pleased God to inflict on the authors of such sacrilegious rapine, this we ought not to be surprised at finding a general consequence,—the total frustration of the hopes and purposes of the crime. We may expect, as a natural chastisement of such calculating, covetous spoliation as here took place, the overthrow and ruin of such families, or the loss to them of their ill-gotten wealth, or hereditary disturbance in their succession.

A priori, such is the punishment of the Reformation sacrilege, which we might reasonably expect; and at any rate, if facts lead to the observation of such results, we shall at once see their fitness. Again, looking at the positive law, as the popular and universal conviction respecting the almost inevitable punishment of murder (which, being a social crime, is generally effected by providential delivery of the perpetrator to human justice), accords exactly with the divine award, "Whosoever shall shed man's blood, his blood shall be shed" (Gen. ix. 6), so will the experience of past ages and of the present time, that sacrilege is a plague-spot on the family of the original criminal, and a canker to his inheritance, be easily pronounced

in harmony with the awful declaration of God, who adds to the first of His commandments, that He is "mighty and jealous, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." (Exod. xx. 4.) Now, it is against this commandment so guarded, that the crime of sacrilege, whether considered as an act of grievous covetousness ("which is a serving of idols") or as a direct offence against God's honour and worship, and a rebellious attempt to rob Him of what has once been given Him, is committed.

Nor will it suffice to show, that in some particular instances this punishment has not occurred, any more than a few, or even many, cases of unavenged murder will weaken the conviction derived from daily experience. And yet the very small number of exceptions in the case of sacrilege ought rather to confirm our argument. The active researches of the editors of Spelman's work have led them to the conclusion that only *fourteen* families yet hold abbey lands in direct succession to *six hundred and thirty* original grantees! And, even in some of those, the curse of strange misfortunes has accompanied the line to our days.

It was a consideration of this sort, which, in fact, led Spelman to write his work. He lived within eighty years of the guilty epoch, and could thus more easily trace the history of the original acquirers of Church property. Having himself experienced nothing but misfortune from the possession of a sacrilegious estate, of which he was at last glad to be rid,[b] he commenced

[b] Giving the history of sacrilege in Blackborough and Wrongey Abbeys, he thus mentions himself among the losers by it:—"Sir H. Spelman, a great loser, and not beholden to fortune, yet happy in this, that he is out of the briars; but especially that thereby he first discerned the infelicity of meddling with consecrated places."—P. 193.

an examination on a limited scale. He drew a circle from a house near his own, with a radius of twelve miles. This contained twenty-five abbey sites, and twenty-seven gentlemen's parks. He found that, while not one of the latter had changed families, every one of the former, except two, had changed them, "thrice at least, and some five or six times" (p. lxxxix).

Here is another example given by Reynerus, in his *Apostolatus Benedictinus*. He took, in one part of England, 260 families which had received part of the Church spoils; and, on the other side, twenty gentlemen, to whom Thomas, duke of Norfolk, left legacies of £40 a year out of his own estate. Every one of the latter had a son "flourishing in his father's inheritance," while not sixty of the king's grantees had transmitted their estates to their children (p. xcii).

The editors of the work before us have taken great pains to collect what we may call the statistics of sacrilege. They have examined the different averages of possession by individuals and by families, of lands that formerly belonged, and of lands that have never belonged, to the Church. The following are their results:—

	Church lands.	Family estates.
Average possession in years by each individual...	17	23
——————————— a family ...	...38[c]	70

The figures in the second column are purposely understated.[d]

It is impossible to read the two appendices, in which the fate of the families who first received grants of abbeys is detailed, and not be struck with the literal

[c] In Warwickshire, the averages are 15 years for an individual, and 27 for a family.

[d] In one hundred of Kent, the average possession of a family is 208 years.

fulfilment of God's threats. Many of the original possessors died childless; of several we read, "extinct in the third generation," "extinct in the fourth generation;" and of others we may easily compute by the dates, that it was about the same period in their descents that they received their final blow. In others each generation presents a series of misfortunes and premature deaths; while many astonish us by the total failure of issue, where, according to human probabilities, there should have been a numerous offspring. As an awful example, we will quote the history of Charles, duke of Suffolk:—

"This despoiler of *thirty* monasteries was married four times. By his first wife he had no children. By his second, a daughter, Mary, married to Lord Monteagle, by whom she had three sons, of whom two died without issue; the third left issue only a daughter, and in him the title became extinct. By his third wife the duke had issue one son, created earl of Lincoln, who died at an early age, and two daughters. Frances married Henry, duke of Suffolk, who was beheaded, 1554; and by him she had,—1. Lady Jane Grey, beheaded. 2. Lady Catharine Grey, married Henry, Lord Herbert, who divorced her, and then Edward, earl of Hertford, beheaded. 3. Lady Mary Grey, married to Martin Keys, and died without issue. After the execution of her husband, Frances Brandon married Adrian Stokes, and appears by him to have had no issue. The duke's third daughter, Eleanor, married Henry, earl of Cumberland, and by him had two sons, Henry and Charles, who both died young; and Margaret, married to Henry, earl of Derby. By his fourth wife the duke had two sons, who both, in turn, succeeded; and died of the sweating sickness in one day, July 14th, 5 Ed. VI. A more remarkable instance could scarcely be found, wherein, in the next generation, a man's name has been clean put out."—Appendix ii.

But not only the original seizers of Church lands have been thus punished, but the Divine attainder seems to attach itself to the property, and to follow it even into hands comparatively innocent. The extraordinarily broken and interrupted descent in families

that hold it, is truly wonderful. Thus, in the Russell family, instanced by Tanner, as an exception to the general rule about the transmission of ecclesiastical lands, we find that in ten generations the eldest son has succeeded to his father only thrice. And in the same family there have been four violent deaths (not in the field of battle), two within the last six years (p. 312).[c]

Our readers will allow us to introduce here an illustration of "the law of succession" in sacrilegious families; because it applies to a part of England, once rich in noble abbeys and splendid churches, and one that has not been much referred to by the editors of Spelman. We allude to Yorkshire; and we will insert the very words of the letter, which, at our request, conveyed the information. We can only add, that we have every reliance on the integrity and the accuracy of our informant.

"I have a friend in this neighbourhood, and his name is ——. He is a magistrate, and a gentleman of very extensive reading, and of great research in books which treat of times long gone by.

"One day, whilst I was telling him of the immense advantage which England, in better days, had reaped from her monastic institutions, he asked me, if I were aware that families enjoying that property had never been able to retain it for three successive generations; that is,—father, son, and grandson. I answered, that I had never paid attention to the subject as far as succession was concerned. 'Then,' said he, 'let me tell you, that I myself have paid very great attention to it: and I have never been able to discover one single solitary instance of any family possessing the monasterial property for three successive generations of father, son, and grandson; and I defy you,' added he, 'to produce an unbroken line of three generations.'

"I replied, that, 'whatever might have been the case up to the present time, there was, at this moment, every appearance of a regular succession in father, son, and grandson, at Kirklees Hall, near Huddersfield. Sir George Armitage, the present possessor, has

[c] [In 1846.]

one foot in the grave. His son is ready to succeed him, and that son has healthy male issue.' 'Time will show,' said Mr. ——. And time did soon show: for the eldest son fell ill, and went to the grave a month or two before his father; and thus the regular succession was broken.

* * * * *

"On a re-perusal of your letter, I gather that you want information concerning families in this immediate neighbourhood. At Nostell Priory, possessed by Mr. Winn, there has been no regular succession from father to son and grandson, since the monks were most cruelly and most unjustly deprived of it.

"The present Lord Fitzwilliam, who possesses monasterial property, and who resides about sixteen miles from this place, has lost his eldest son.

"Sir Edward Dodsworth (formerly Smith), who possessed the monasterial property of Newland, has died without lawful issue.

"Temple Newsham, about ten miles from hence, has, I believe, passed from family to family, without ever having a grandson."

The writer of this letter further corroborates these statements, by the striking fact, that in our royal succession since the sacrilegious spoliation of the Church, no sovereign has been succeeded by a grandson on the throne.

We must refer our readers to Spelman's work itself, for further and more varied evidence of the visitation on families of their forefathers' sacrileges. But there is one example of a gigantic attempt to build up a house on sacrilege in our times, so utterly brought to nought, that we think it should not have been overlooked. We allude to Napoleon, who started indeed on his career as the restorer of the hierarchy and peace of the Church, and so prospered for a time. He set his foot upon the necks of princes, and gave their dominions to his brethren, and even to his "servants." The family of Bonaparte might at this day, according to human calculation, have occupied the thrones of France, Spain, Holland, Westphalia, and Italy, and in each royal branch a family would have existed,

with nephews to spare, for a future succession. But he stretched out his hand to forbidden spoil; he thought to enrich his empire by the wealth consecrated to God; he scrupled not to incur the indignation of Him who scared Attila[f] from his intended sacrilege, by plundering the shrine of the Apostles; he pillaged the vast treasures of the "Holy House" of Mary; nay, he laid violent hands, like Herod, on Peter himself in the person of his saintly successor. From that hour, all went wrong with him; his imperial fortune forsook him; his eagles were struck down; his treasure melted away; he became a wonder and by-word to all nations. But his family projects, the great aim of his life, beyond everything else failed him. His own line soon became extinct; and of his brothers, one after the other has dropped off in banishment, almost in obscurity, has left no sons that can make the name known to another generation; and if what we hear be true, of the utter wreck of all their vast fortunes, no one can tell how, the sentence is pretty nearly carried out upon this grand scheme of sacrilegious aggrandisement. And what was Napoleon himself but the scourge of God, upon those princes, who had just before set the example of plundering the Church, and dissolving its religious establishments? And may not he beware, who now occupies his throne, and in some sort inherits the desire to secure his family upon it, through many princely alliances, so long as St. Genevieve cries out for vengeance, for altars profaned and saints turned out, to give place to the most worthless villains that ever pretended to mock at God; so long

[f] The form in which the Holy See protects its rights, is by telling their invader, "SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli indignationem se noverit incursurum."

as the episcopal dwelling in his own capital is allowed to remain a waste, and the Church is bound down in fetters, and the mouth of her shepherds is gagged?[g] One terrible calamity, — the plague of the striking of the first-born,[h] — has already pointed out the stain of sacrilege, and has avenged the plucking down of the cross and the profanation of holy temples, which marked the accession of the dynasty.

We should be glad to see an abridgment, at least, or the substance of Spelman's work translated into foreign languages, especially in those countries of Europe where the work of desecration is not yet fully perpetrated. What gain has Spain had, or Portugal, by the spoliation of the Church, and the sale of ecclesiastical property? We have elsewhere shown, how ruinous they have been to the government of Spain; it were well to prove to purchasers that they are equally so to them. In fact, in both countries, men are beginning to see this; and examples are by degrees showing themselves, and becoming noted. We have been told by those who know the countries, that persons of large wealth who have purchased freely Church-lands have soon come to want. One rich West-India merchant has been particularly mentioned. And we were told of one young man, who had purchased in Portugal a religious house and garden, and turned it into a place for holiday amusement, who was soon found on it slain by his own gun; whether by accident or design could not be discovered.

[g] [The thunderbolt has since fallen. But if justice can be appeased, or great public errors expiated, the piety, resignation, and truly royal virtues of widow and children under trial may have power and merit to obtain both mercies.]

[h] The first-born of Egypt were struck, because Pharaoh sacrilegiously hindered God's people from going forth to the desert to sacrifice to Him.

Before concluding this article, we cannot refrain from saying a few words upon one species of sacrilege, that committed by violence against persons consecrated to God; because the examples given by the editors all refer to Protestant clergymen, whose priestly character we of course deny; but violence to whom would be the sin of sacrilege in those who believed them to possess it, or intended, in them, to insult it.[1]

We will, therefore, supply two instances of signal vengeance upon this species of sacrilege in our own country. Every one knows how cruelly and brutally the clergy were treated, during the Irish Rebellion as it is called, by the soldiery, or Protestant authorities, into whose hands they fell. It is not many years since the late Sir W. B. was canvassing for his election, and went into a shop, we believe a bookseller's, to ask for votes. The tradesman was an old man, and the canvasser and a friend who was with him, asked him if he remembered the bad times, and if they were as bad as they are represented. The old man replied, that he remembered them well, and that they were much more evil than they were thought; "and Sir W.," he said, "I well remember your uncle had a priest tied up to the triangles and severely flogged, till the blood ran on the stones. And years after, I saw your uncle lying dead on the same spot, having fallen out of the window, and dashed his brains out on the same stones on which he had shed that blood." We need not say with what feelings the persons thus addressed rushed from the house. We have this narrative from an eye-witness. The following is from

[1] Upon this principle we explain the punishment of sacrilege in heathen times. Those who committed it were judged by their own law.

a gentleman of known probity and patriotism, who has taken great pains to collect and verify the facts. We believe he has drawn out a full narrative of the awful occurrence.

During the same eventful period, a yeoman in the Protestant army shot a priest dead with a pistol. Some time after, he blew out his own brains with the same weapon. A brother of his secured the pistol, and some years later committed self-murder with it. Their mother now got possession of the fatal instrument of divine vengeance, and flung it far into a deep pond. There was still one surviving brother, and he, as if impelled by some stern fatality, never rested till he had fished it up again unknown to his mother. He scoured it clean, and made it fit for use. He kept it by him till his hour was come; when he inflicted on himself the same fate with it as his brothers had done before. Perhaps modern medical jurists will call this by some learned name; they may say it was an "epidemic monomania;" we will venture to be sufficiently old-fashioned to call it THE CURSE OF SACRILEGE.

Only one word more. The shop-windows of London have long been full of chalices and ciboriums, and other sacred vessels, the sacrilegious spoils of Spain. A blessing will alight on those and their houses, who have rescued them at whatever cost from further desecration, and have restored them to their proper place and use. But as to the many who have covered their side-boards with them, and like Balthassar, display them to their guests on their days of sensual feastings, we will only say to them, "ipsi viderint."

ON

PRAYER AND PRAYER-BOOKS.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for Nov.* 1842.

ON

PRAYER AND PRAYER-BOOKS.

ART. VI.—1. *The Garden of the Soul.* Derby, 1842.
2. *Catholic Hours; or, the Family Prayer-Book.* Third edition. 1841.
3. *The Catholic's Manual of Private Devotion.* Third edition. 1839.

WHILE preparing to lay before our readers such remarks as the publications before us suggest, a twofold scene presents itself to our imagination.

On the one side, we seem to ourselves to behold a venerable sanctuary, be its country and character what it may; whether the dark and awful precincts of the holy house at Loreto; or the silver crypt in which St. Charles Borromeo lies enshrined; or one of our own ancient pilgrimages, the chapel of St. Cuthbert or St. Thomas, restored to its ancient beauty and splendour. Around the object of common veneration are scattered various suppliants; not marshalled into ranks by vergers' wands, but, as greater earnestness or greater humility, as pious curiosity or desire of concealment, prompts, nearer or more afar; some in the bright glow of burning tapers, or of sunbeams streaming through richly-stained window; some half-veiled in the mysterious shadows of clustered pillars or secluded nooks. There we see the Belgian matron, hooded and cloaked in her dark flowing drapery, a breathing, but motionless figure—a living Van-Eyck; on another side we

have the German peasant, with arms outstretched, as though on a cross, in deep and earnest supplication; further back we find the Swiss pilgrim, leaning on his staff, as, rosary in hand, he kneels with hoary head and flowing beard bowed lowly down; and in front of all, and pressing on nearer to the shrine, the Italian, in the bright attire of the Abruzzi, kneeling as though reclining backwards, in the attitude of Canova's Magdalen, with her hands clasped upon her knees, and her glowing upturned face streaming with tears.

On the other side is another scene. The altar and its appurtenances are finished in the best style of most approved upholstery; the tightly-fitted carpet is well covered, to secure its holiday freshness; the marbling and graining are unexceptionable in colour and in varnish. Here, too, are worshippers; the Parisian dame reclining on her tall chair *priedieu*, with her silver-mounted prayer-book, the English seat-holder surrounded by all the luxury of worsted-worked cushions, and morocco-bound books of devotion.

It is far from our intention to make any invidious comparison between the actors in the two scenes: or even to insinuate that the second class may not be as devout and as fervent as the first. On the contrary, habit has so much influence on even our most sacred duties, that we believe that the people first described would be as unable to pray, and be as cold in their supplications, were they placed amidst the soft accompaniments of the others' prayers, as these would be if dropped down, alone and unsupported, on the cold pavement of an old Gothic church. But somehow or other, the eye and the thought seem to find a spectacle more akin to the avowed purpose of both scenes, in the outward bearing and appearance of those who compose the first. If the painter desired to represent

a fervent suppliant, he certainly would look on it for his models: if a poet wished to describe the prayerful outpourings of an afflicted heart, he would make them be expressed in its outward forms: nay, if the preacher or moralist should seek to stir up his hearer or reader to a fitting observance of devotional duties, he would surely draw his imagery, and illustrate his meaning from the same source. We, indeed, are not artists nor poets; neither are we intending to deliver a homily upon such sacred topics. We are only poor critics, anxious not to blame but to correct; and therefore, in all that we have said, we have only wished to present our readers with what we conceive to be accurate types of two species of prayers, and two classes of prayer-books now in use amongst us—the ancient, or liturgical, and truly ecclesiastical, and the modern, multifarious, and unauthoritative. In the former are combined all the powerful and the beautiful, the deep and the sublime, the holy and the poetical, which minds and hearts, gifted by heaven with little less than inspiration, could mingle together. The spirit of celestial harmony pervades their words, and combines their phrases, and weaves them into sentences and strains of marvellous art. In them we admire a rich and mellow tone, an almost playful variety, now passing from the grave to the cheerful, as if by a sudden burst, then descending gradually from the sublime to the familiar, with no loss of dignity. Everything is heart-felt, soul-deep: the sob of contrition, the *De profundis* of the spirit, comes from the innermost caverns of a hollow, sorrow-worn breast; the song of thanksgiving, its *Te Deum*, springs blithe and light from quivering lips, as if to carol among heavenly choirs. The voice of ancient priests must needs, one would think, have been of a rich and solemn modu-

lation, now unknown on earth, to have had such beautiful sentences allotted to it to utter; and the multitudes who answered must have made a sound like to the noise of many waters, to have inspired such responses. What a fitness in the selection of every versicle; what refinement in the choice of allusions and illustrations; what exquisite taste in the application of Holy Writ to every want; what simple and natural, yet most sublime poetry pervading every office, even where metre is excluded; what a noble elevation of thought and expression in the more didactic portions! There is a fragrance, a true incense, in those ancient prayers, which seems to rise from the lips, and to wind upwards in soft, balmy clouds, upon which angels may recline, and thence look down upon us, as we utter them. They seem worthy to be caught up in a higher sphere, and to be heaped upon the altar above, at which an angel ministers.

In them we look in vain for that formal arrangement, that systematic distribution of parts which distinguishes our modern prayers. We never have petitions regularly labelled and cut to measure; and yet nothing can we want that is not there asked for. What seems at first sight almost disorder, is found, on examination, to be a most pleasing variety, produced by most artless, yet most refined, arrangement. They lack the symmetry of the parterre; there seems to have been no line and compass used in laying them out; the flowers are not placed according to a rigid classification; but they have the grandeur, and the boldness, and withal the freshness of a landscape; their very irregularities give them beauties, their sudden transitions effect; and their colours are blended in a luxurious richness with which no modern art can vie. They partake of all the solemnity and all the

stateliness of the places in which they were first recited: they retain the echoes of the gloomy catacomb, they still resound with the jubilee of gilded basilicas, they keep the harmonious reverberations of lofty groined vaults. The Church's sorrows and her joys, martyrs' oblation, and confessors' thanksgiving, anchorites' sighs, and virgins' breathings of love—all are registered there. He that would muse over a skull hath his *Dies Iræ;* she that would stand at the foot of the holy Rood, her *Stabat Mater;* and they that would adore in concert before the altar, their *Lauda Sion.*

Nor hath the Church at any time lost her power of prayer, her mastery over the harp of David; but silent and almost unstrung as it may for a long space appear, she hath only to attune it when she lists, and strike it, and it brings forth the same sweet, soothing notes as at the beginning. Every new service or prayer which she has added to the Pontifical or Ritual, dissolves into the mass of more ancient compositions, so as to be undistinguishable, and blends with them, as a new ingredient in "the sweet confections of the apothecary,"[a] equal to the rest in savour as in virtue. Every modern office, like those exquisite ones of the Passion which she has added to her Breviary, overflows with the same delicious poetry, the same balmy unction as the ancient services. And as to prayers emanating from the hearts and pens of holy contemplatives in the Middle Ages and in later times, we may truly say that they thoroughly partake of the Church's spirit, breathe her thoughts, in fact, are but sweet waters drawn off through private channels from her pure stream. St. Bonaventura and St. Bernard, and many like them, in those golden times of devotion,

[a] Eccles. xxxviii. 7.

proved how completely men might be the tongues, so to speak, of the Church, and express her holiest feelings; the *Jesu, dulcis amor meus* of St. Francis Xavier; the *Sume Domine, et suscipe universam libertatem meam* of St. Ignatius; the *Ante oculos tuos* of Urban VIII., which is hung round the confession[b] of the apostles in Rome; and many other such private prayers, contain in them more pith and feeling than much longer compositions of modern times.

But to these we must now turn. The so-called Reformation, wherever it fell, blighted all warmth and tenderness, and introduced a totally new system of prayer. We know that some persons, enamoured of the services of the Anglican Church, find great aptness and beauty in their very barrenness, and consider it a fitting expression of the state of mourning in which that establishment put itself, or was put, on its separation from unity. We own we cannot take this view, for which no historical evidence can be offered. It was the dry puritanism of the times that influenced the compilers of its service-books. It was the shadow of the Geneva gown and cap that hung over them, a baneful nightshade, a joy-killing upas-tree to all devotion and cheerful piety that came within reach of its heartless influence. The prayer-book kept a sort of meagre breviary service in the morning and evening prayer; but every hymn and antiphon was lost, and the beautiful alternation of cheerfulness and solemnity, the mixture of the didactic and the lyric, found in the day offices, was totally swept away. In the communion service, too, the peculiar beauties of the old liturgies, to which we will

[b] [The place where a martyr's relics repose in a Basilica.]

in due time advert, disappeared; and their places were supplied by comparatively dry and cold prayers, and exhortations.

Now it has seemed to us as though some of the leaven which, while it fermented, soured the sweet bread of old devotion among our neighbours, had unfortunately slipped in among ourselves. For, the imperfections which we find in Protestant prayers we feel we may to some extent charge upon many of our own compositions. It appears to us as though most of our modern English prayers came too much from the head. Not that the heart was wanting in those who composed them—far are we from thinking so; but they feared to let it play; they put it in fetters, they bound up its feelings too much, lest they should turn imprudent. The consequence is, that they bear a certain reasoning, argumentative air, that smacks of a sadly controversial age. If we may venture to use such a phrase, we *memorialize* the Almighty instead of praying to Him. Our supplications for forgiveness seem to be not so much the cry of a culprit, who throws himself on his knees, before the Judge in whose hands lies his fate, as a petition to the throne for commutation of sentence. Everything is admirably arranged, every extenuating circumstance earnestly pleaded; motives of mercy powerfully adduced: but there lacks the tear, and the sob, and the language of the contrite, that is the *crushed*, heart; the confusedly mingled throbs of terror and hope, of sorrow and love.

So it is with our other prayers. Our thanksgiving expresses how we *ought* to be most grateful to God, wonders how we can forget His benefits, and begs that we may never cease to remember them. But it breaks not out at once into a canticle; it sings

not forth spontaneously; "Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est;" it seems to be a duty, not a movement of the heart. Our expressions of love are likewise so constructed. They adduce the reasons which we have for loving our Creator, our Father and Redeemer; they acknowledge the imperfection of our charity; they express, in fine, that we do love however inadequately. But there is not always in them the fervour of love overflowing the heart and lips, in glowing, affectionate, impassioned addresses; we find not in them the surpassing sweetness of the "*Jesu dulcis memoria*," or the concentrated outbursts of love divine which many short sentences of the saints contain. There are quatrains, nay lines, in the poems of St. Francis of Assisium, that express the ardour of a loving heart beyond what any modern, elaborate prayer has done. And why? simply because they speak as one does who loves. Our modern prayers have no wings; they creep with us on our own low sphere; they bear us not up to the empyreal, whither we wish prayer to raise us: we feel not among angels and saints as we pronounce them. And if they soar not with us, neither do they always warm us here below. They are as green wood placed upon the altar; not like the perfumed cedar of the olden forms, which set it in a blaze, and rose gloriously upwards.

We trust we shall not be deemed censorious in writing thus. But we feel that it is just to give some illustrations or exemplifications of what we say. We might at once refer to the prayers for Sundays, of that truly pious and learned divine Gother, as fully bearing out all that we have said. Long argumentative prayers will be there found in abundance, admirable as instructions; but far too heavy and dry for ordinary faithful. Let us, however, select

a very short prayer given in almost all our prayer-books :—

"PRAYER AFTER MASS.

"Accept, O most gracious God, this our service; whatever by Thy grace, we may have performed with diligence, in Thy clemency regard; and what we have done with negligence, mercifully pardon, through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen."

Nothing is here wanting; the prayer is complete, and, no doubt, excellent in all its parts. But it is a collect in form, and is cold in its present place, compared with more ancient liturgical compositions. It does not say: "we are unprofitable servants." It assumes that our work may, in part at least, have been well performed. Compare, now, the following concluding prayer from a Syriac liturgy :—

"Grant me O God that grace of Thy Holy Spirit, which Thou vouchsafedst to Thy holy disciples in the upper chamber on Mount Sion, and on Mount Olivet; nor take it from me, either in this world, or in the next. For from Thee is every good and perfect gift. O Light of lights, Creator of the world, Thee we adore, Thee we glorify now and for ever, unto endless ages! Farewell in peace, O altar most holy! may I in peace return to thee again! The victim which I have received from thee be to me the forgiveness of my debts, and the pardon of my sins, and obtain for me to stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, without debt or shame; for I know not whether I shall ever offer up sacrifice upon thee again!"[c]

But before this is a splendid hymn of thanksgiving alternately sung between the priest and the deacon, which we would willingly transcribe, did space permit. It shows the joy and exultation with which the Church gave thanks for her most precious gift. Let us rather take another point of comparison. From the edition of the "Garden of the Soul," as from several preceding editions, there has been excluded a very long morning exercise, in which all the proper

[c] Assemani Cod. Liturg. tom. v. p. 225.

topics of such a prayer were systematically included. With similar good judgment, several other such prayers, for sickness, indulgences, &c., have been omitted. For, though excellent in many respects, they had the fault to which we have so often alluded, of being heavy, long, and formal. Some of the evening prayers in the various manuals before us we think liable to the same objections. It is not necessary to refer individually, because we fear they all labour under the disadvantage which we desire to notice. This we must beg to go about in our own way.

There can be no doubt that, while the ancient Christians had their thoughts constantly turned towards God, in private prayer, the Church took care to provide for all the regular and necessary discharge of this duty, by her public offices. These were not meant to be holiday services, or mere clerical duties; but the ordinary, daily, and sufficient discharge of an obligation belonging to every state and class in the Church. It never was understood that *besides* the public offices there should be certain long, family or private prayers, as necessary to discharge the duty of morning and evening spiritual sacrifice. For all that was right on this score, she took care to provide; and where she has done this, we may be sure of its being done beyond hope of rivalry. Unfortunately, those offices have, for the most part, been reduced to a duty, discharged by the clergy in private, and have thus come to be considered by us as a purely ecclesiastical obligation superadded to, not comprehending, the discharge of ordinary Christian duty. One is apt to forget that Prime is the Church's morning prayer, and Complin her evening devotions. Yet so the two manifestly are. But what greatly helps to make us overlook this fact, is, that we have been accustomed to

consider morning and evening prayers as necessarily of a specific form, composed of certain definite acts of devotion, arranged in a formal order; and have lost sight of that model, which characterizes all the offices of the Church; and is and must be far the most perfect. Let us observe the principal difference between the two classes of prayers.

1. It will at once strike us, that the modern ones are almost entirely composed for recital by one person. That this is not with a view to private devotion, appears from the few responses which are introduced, just sufficient to show that congregational, or family, worship, as it is called, is intended. Yet the great body of assistants must be mere listeners, while one person recites a long series of prayers. Every one knows how difficult it is to keep up prolonged attention under these circumstances,—how easily the mind wanders and is fairly lost, till recalled mechanically by a response. Now this shows the advantage of frequency in such interruptions; nay, how expedient it would be to have them come in, almost every moment. Such is precisely the form of the Church offices. In the more solemn liturgy, or mass, where the principal actor is the priest, having a ministry exclusively his, the rest must be content to join their prayers mentally with his, or rather with the sacred rite performed by him. And so in some other functions, wherein the priestly character alone has efficacy to act. But in all other daily Church offices, the service is essentially choral; all join, in nearly equal parts; psalms, hymns, versicles, antiphons, belong to the entire company of fellow-worshippers. All therefore become equally sharers, equally interested, in the holy exercise; and the attention is kept alive, or easily recovers itself. Surely this is a great advantage, and gives at

once immense superiority to the ancient, over the modern, form of prayer.

2. The Church offices are always full of life and cheerfulness. This, in fact, seems to be a marked characteristic of the Catholic Church; she ever prays in hymns, making "a joyful noise to God with psalms." Even when she mourns, she must have her song,—attuned in a deeper key, but still enlivening sorrow itself with hope. For about two months in the year she suppresses her Alleluja: for a fortnight at Passion-tide she withdraws in part her *Gloria Patri;* but only for three days, the three most solemn days of the year, does she silence the hymns in her office. Yet even then she does not banish them from her liturgy. On Maundy-Thursday she sings them at the consecration of the holy Chrism, and in the procession to the sepulchre, even on Good Friday she intones the sublime "Pange lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis;" breaking in with most tender effect upon the pathetic reproaches against the Jewish people. In this spirit, she has not a single portion of her sevenfold daily office, without its hymn to open, or close, it. And surely this course is most wise, and considerate towards our poor frail humanity, which stands in constant need of such appliances for support in spiritual duties. They break the monotony which might otherwise ensue; they raise the tone of voice and mind above the pitch of ordinary conversation, and, if attuned to notes, they prevent weariness, and freshen the spirits. Moreover they shed a poetical charm over the entire exercise, making prayer a pleasing and welcome occupation. This character may surely be imparted to family devotions; or rather we should say *ought* to be. For St. Paul seems to have

these principally in view when, treating of homely duties, he exhorts the Ephesians to speak to themselves "in psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord" (Ephes. v. 19); and when he tells the Colossians, still more pointedly, to "teach and admonish one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles" (Coloss. iii. 16). A cheerful giver God loves, and the natural joyfulness of mutual love, a common hope, one faith, and trustfulness in the same protection, should shed a beam of sunny brightness over the domestic expression of these feelings. And yet, such lightsomeness, we fear, does not prevade our devotional forms: they are mostly of a darker hue; there is sometimes even a melancholy complexion in them,—a thoughtful, anxious expression, rather than a buoyant, hopeful, smiling look. In this respect surely the Church is right.

3. Another difference, and one closely connected with the last, consists in the absence from the one of that orderly and systematic arrangement, which seems to be so carefully studied in the other. There can be, we think, no doubt, that the difference results from the poetical character of the former, and the prosaic form of the latter. In the Church offices, everything is prayed for that ought to enter into the exercises for which they are intended; but they being composed of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles," most beautifully selected, the various petitions run blended through the entire office, according as the various portions of the chosen parts express them. This prevents weariness; it is like a variety of modulations in music, full of passages through various keys, with occasional apparent and momentary dissonances,

that only give zest to surrounding harmonies. On the other side, our modern devotions have each petition, and each act of virtue, accurately distinct; no room is left for a varied play of feeling; there are no contrasts, no light and shade. The former is the language of nature, the latter that of art. An analysis of what we consider the morning and evening devotions of the Church, will easily show us how fully everything necessary enters into their composition, though no artificial arrangement is made.

In Prime, for instance, after we have placed ourselves in the Divine presence, by the preliminary prayer, "Aperi Domine," and asked God's grace, "Deus in adjutorium," the day opens with a beautiful hymn, in which we beg to be preserved from sin throughout the day, place our senses and hearts under the Divine protection, and beg that at evening we may look back upon an unsullied day, and sing thanksgiving for its many blessings.[d] Can anything be more

[d] A translation of this beautiful hymn, from a source not easily accessible to all, may not be unacceptable to our readers, as no translation has appeared in any of our prayer-books:—

"HYMN.

"*Jam Lucis Orto.*

"The star of morn to night succeeds,
We therefore meekly pray,
May God in all our words and deeds
Keep us from harm this day.

"May He in love restrain us still
From tones of strife and words of ill,
And wrap around and close our eyes
To earth's absorbing vanities.

"May wrath and thoughts that gender shame
Ne'er in our breasts abide,
And painful abstinences tame
Of wanton flesh the pride;

appropriate, more complete, more beautiful, than this? Can any modern substitution answer as well? The hymn is succeeded by three psalms, which never vary, as others do, day by day, which are often added. The first of these (the 53rd in the Vulgate, and 54th in the Hebrew) expresses, in strong and feeling language, the dangers of temptations which await us, the wiles and violences of spiritual foes who will assail us, calls strongly for protection, and triumphantly proclaims confidence in God's power and mercy, grounded upon experience of past goodness. To this feeling cry succeed good resolutions for the day, promises to observe the judgments, the law, the commandments of God, to prefer them to riches, to make them our happiness; and, intermixed, are fervent prayers for grace to do so, acknowledgments of our inability and helplessness without it, and a great reliance upon the kindness of our heavenly Father. And all this is not set forth in cold orderly phrases, but in the glowing language of inspiration, in its richly varied imagery, and expression. For this portion of the office consists of two sections of the 118th (or 119th) psalm. This is followed by an exclamation of honour and glory to the God of heaven, succeeded, with sublime abruptness, by a most humble earnestly repeated entreaty

"So when the weary day is o'er,
And night and stillness come once more,
Blameless and clean from spot of earth,
We may repeat, with reverent mirth,

"Praise to the Father, as is meet,
Praise to the only Son,
Praise to the Holy Paraclete,
While endless ages run. Amen."

[This hymn is copied from an unfinished translation of the Breviary, which had been begun a few years ago at Oxford, and was in part printed.]

for mercy to His Son. Then comes (except on festivals) a series of versicles calling for many graces and blessings through the day; and, after this, the confession of our sins, with its prayer for forgiveness, ending with the proper prayer of the service, begging of God, that, as He has brought us to the beginning of a new day, He would watch over us in it, preserve us from sin, and direct all our words, thoughts, and actions, to the performance of His law. When Prime is chorally performed, a very appropriate and very beautiful addition is here introduced. The martyrology for the day is read,—that is, a condensed account of those saints who, on the present day, glorified God by their martyrdom, or found it their happiest day in a blessed death, or otherwise honoured it by some great act of holiness. We thus have a series of models placed before us for imitation; we have recalled to mind and suggested to us, as topics of meditation, the actions, varying every day, of mortals like ourselves, who had pleased God and gained Him (for, to a mind read in their lives, the recurrence of their names will recall the memory of their peculiar merits); the communion of saints is individualized, so that we seem, for the day, to walk with a definite company of them, who keep special festival with us,—they in heaven, we on earth; and, finally, we have special patrons thus allotted to us, who, that day, have us especially commended to them by the Church's commemoration of them. And hence the lesson of the Martyrology is concluded by a prayer, said even when the lesson is dispensed with, for the intercession of the Blessed Mother of God, and all the saints, whose death was precious in the Lord. Again, the cry for mercy is raised, and thrice repeated; for holy importunity is one of the Church's privileges. To

this is added a beautiful versicle and response for the divine direction of all our day's work, and another collect, as beautiful as the former one, and to the same purport, placing our bodies and hearts, our senses, speeches, and actions under God's safeguard and guidance. Then comes a short chapter or lesson from Scripture, as a text whereon we may meditate during the day, it being selected with reference to the ecclesiastical season of the year, or the day's festival.

This very incomplete analysis may suffice to turn the attention of those who are not obliged or accustomed to follow the Church offices towards these beautiful forms of prayer. We will now venture to give a briefer outline of the evening service or Complin, better known among Catholics. The opening blessing expresses the truly Christian view of evening devotion. The analogy between sleep and death, and the danger of passing from one to the other, by a sudden visitation, naturally suggest a double preparation—the advantage and justness of lying down on our beds as though it were in a coffin, of retiring to rest as if we might possibly not wake again on earth. We pray, therefore, to God, to give us "a quiet night, and a holy death—*noctem quietam et finem perfectum.*" Then, as the first preparation, we humbly confess our transgressions, and ask for pardon. The psalms follow, always unvaried. The three first are strongly and feelingly descriptive of confidence in the Divine protection. The expression of this sentiment, in such energetic and feeling tones, is surely the best means of imploring and securing that safeguard. But intermingled are other expressions of thankfulness, both for temporal benefits,[e] and for spiritual

[e] "Multi dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona," etc.

deliverances;[f] of reproach for our daily folly and vanity,[g] and secret repentance, before retiring to rest, for the day's frailty and failings.[h] The fourth psalm[i] is a lively and beautiful call upon those who, in discharge of their ministry or religious duties, will watch the night in God's house, to praise Him on behalf of us who slumber, and draw down blessings upon our helpless state. How appropriate this invitation in a Church wherein so many communities of men and women rise every night to sing the praises of their Lord, and where, in almost every town, the faithful watch before the blessed sacrament exposed to adoration! Then comes the hymn, that never-failing support to waning attention, or fainting devotion; asking more clearly for protection during our rest; and followed up by the apposite chapter or text, which appeals to God for His care, on the ground that we are His living temples, on whom His sacred name has been called down. Then, in alternate verse and chorus, we commend our spirit repeatedly into the hands of the Lord God of truth, who hath redeemed us, and beg Him to guard us as the apple of His eye. The allusion which the dying words of our Saviour thus applied, naturally suggest, to the final yielding of our spirit into the hands of our heavenly Father, is instantly taken up, and the canticle of Zacharias, "*Nunc dimittis*," humbly, but cheerfully, expresses our readiness to depart from this our banishment, whenever it shall please God to call us. And

[f] "Verumtamen oculis tuis considerabis, et retributionem peccatorum videbis," etc.

[g] "Filii hominum usque quo gravi corde," etc.

[h] "Quæ dicitis in cordibus vestris in cubilibus vestris compungimini."

[i] "Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum."—Ps. cxxxiii.

thus does the opening idea of our twofold preparation beautifully return to close the service. A prayer is added ("*Visita quæsumus*"), too well known as an essential part of all our evening devotions to require any particular description. An anthem or hymn to the Blessed Mother of God, closes the public portion of the service.

Such are the evening prayers which the Church has drawn up for her children; and, for our part, we can wish for nothing better. We know not where an improvement could be suggested; and, therefore, we see not why anything should have been substituted for them. One or two circumstances seem to indicate, with sufficient clearness, that the two offices which we have analyzed were intended by the Church for the purposes described by us. For instance, Prime commences as Complin closes, by the Creed, in addition to the usual prayers, the Our Father and Hail Mary; as though to begin and finish the day by the public profession of our faith. But further we may observe, that, while in every other hour of prayer, the collects and responses vary according to the festival, those of these two offices never change, for season or day, but have manifestly a reference, not to a specific commemoration, but to a standing and daily duty. Their character is thus quite distinct from the others, and shows them intended for a different use. Why should not this use be restored? Why should they not become the standard devotions of all Catholics, whether alone or in their families? Why may we not hope to have them more solemnly performed, chanted even, every day in all religious communities, or, where there is a sufficient number of persons, even in family chapels? Thus would be more truly exemplified that resemblance to the Church in the Christian family,

which St. Paul intimates, when he speaks of the Church that was in the house of an individual.[k] Surely, if in other respects the resemblance will hold, it should not be despised in this, that the family united in prayer should speak the very language of the Church; should observe the forms of devotion which she has herself drawn up and approved; and, as in good discipline, in spiritual affection, in communion of good works, in mutual encouragement to virtue, so likewise in the regularity and in the order of prayer, assimilate itself to those religious communities which, in every part of the Christian world, praise God in her name, and under her especial sanction. We strongly suspect, that many who will join the Church, will hail with joy every such return, however imperfect, to the discipline and practice of the ancient Church; they will warm to us the more in proportion to our zeal for the restoration of its discipline.

It is impossible not to observe how decidedly partial the Church is to the Breviary form of prayer on all occasions; for she imitates it in most of her other devotions, by composing them of a psalm and antiphon; then generally the *Kyrie eleison*, Our Father, and a certain number of versicles, followed by one or more prayers. Such is the form of the preparation and thanksgiving for mass; the *Itinerary*, or prayers for a journey, for clerks; the grace for communities; the Asperges; the close of the great Litany; and many others.[l] And this form seems to us by far the most

[k] Coloss. iv. 15.

[l] This form has been adopted in the "Prayers for the Conversion of England." We have before us a little book entitled "Prayers on the building of a new Church," in Latin and English, in which the same form has been observed, but with sufficient irregularities to indicate want of long experience in the compiler. For instance, the

perfect for any prayers, especially such as are to be recited by many in concert. We do not think that the Psalms can be too much used in our devotions. Not to say that they are the language of inspiration, they contain almost every possible petition, and the expression of every feeling—from the loftiest joy to the deepest sorrow—which can enter into our solemn intercourse with heaven. They should not be confined to great and public offices; they should be familiar to us as "household words;" they should be employed in fulfilment of St. James's counsel: "Tristatur aliquis vestrum? oret. Æquo animo est? psallat."[m] In whatever temper our minds may be, there will be some one at least of those sacred melodies which will harmonize with it, accord its jars, soothe its fretfulness, calm its anxieties, cheer its gloom, console its sorrows; or, if it have not sunk below trustfulness and hope, enliven its serenity, or depress its eagerness, and compose the whole soul to that just standard of Christian peace which soars not in pride, and sinks not in despondency. It is not Saul alone, nor only *his* evil spirit, that hath felt the mildening and calming influence of David's harp; many hearts, troubled like that of St. Augustine at Milan, have been lulled to religious calm by the powerful psalmody of the Church. No composition from man's hand can ever bear such frequent repetition as these divine hymns; they are ever fresh to the heart, as the solemn tones in which the Church utters them are to the lips and ears: both are calculated for daily, nay, for hourly use, without

little chapter is redundant, there being no hymn. [The author of this little work has since become a Catholic, and a priest; and has proved himself a thorough appreciator of the beauties of the Catholic ritual.]

[m] Jac. v. 13.

danger of either losing its peculiar charm. The clergy have them indeed constantly in their mouths, by the recital of the divine office; but, from there being a very small portion of them in our ordinary prayer-books, and from the want of suggestions for their use in our bibles, we fear many of our laity are prevented from becoming as familiar with them as they ought. At any rate, the composers of prayer-books might, we think, advantageously follow the method adopted by the Church, and give to their devotions more of the form which she manifestly prefers.

We may be thought, perhaps, to have expressed ourselves strongly on the subject of modern prayers, as though of too argumentative and unpoetical a character. Do we, then, think that such a quality ought to be excluded from all petitions? By no means: for we hold that the Church herself has given us the most beautiful possible models of such prayers, as she has of everything else that belongs to religion. We would, then, divide the prayers of the Church into two classes, one which primarily and essentially is of a lyrical, poetical character, and one which bases our petitions upon some premise or ground, expressed in language simple, though not unadorned. The former class occupies by far the greater portion of the Church offices, the latter is chiefly confined to the collects and other very short prayers. Nothing can be more perfect in structure, more solid in substance, more elegant in conception, or more terse in diction, than the collects, especially those of the Sundays and of Lent. They belong essentially to the traditional deposits of the Church, being found in the oldest sacramentaries, and *ordos*. It is evident that their symmetrical structure is the result of a rule or principle; so well is it always observed. For each is

almost invariably composed of two parts, which may be called the recital and the petition. The first contains either a declaration of our wants, general or individual, temporal or spiritual, or a plea for mercy, or for a favourable hearing. Or, it may be itself a prayer; only preparatory to a more specific and important request. In this first portion, nothing strikes one so much as the noble and appropriate terms in which the Deity is addressed, and the sublime greatness with which His attributes are described. What can be more majestic than such expressions as these: "Protector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum;" or "Deus virtutum, cujus est totum quod est optimum;" or "Deus innocentiæ restitutor et amator;" or "Deus a quo bona cuncta procedunt?" There is, in fact, hardly a collect in which some singular beauty of thought, some happy turn of phrase, is not to be found. The connecting link between this preamble and the petition which follows, is often of the most energetic and most earnest character, being, in fact, the pith and core of the prayer itself,—that which makes it a prayer; and though confined to three or four words, is varied with wonderful richness in almost every collect. The petition itself is ever most solemn, devout, and fervent; often containing a depth of thought which would supply materials for a long meditation. There is no commonplace; but, whether the request refer to public, or to private, blessings, it is conceived in terms so distinct and appropriate, as to give it a character of originality and beauty. The collects, for instance, in Lent repeatedly pray against the same dangers of the season, remissness in its painful duties, or mere formal observance of them, without the interior spirit of humility and mortifi-

cation. One of the two collects of each day is almost sure to allude to one or other of these topics; yet the variety which runs through them is surprising. The petition appears new every time it is repeated, from the happy change in the phraseology. They are like variations in music upon a simple theme; more striking, however, than such variations usually are, because they never degenerate into long or complicated modifiations of the original strain. The last is as simple as the first. If any one thinks that these prayers, so easy to appearance, require no great power to imitate them, let him try to compose a few, and he will soon find their inferiority to the old ones; he will see that it is far from easy to put so much meaning into such a small compass, and still more difficult to come up to the beauty and greatness of thought generally condensed in the ancient form.

These prayers we consider as the true models, the most perfect specimens of reasoned, unimpassioned, *prose* prayers. They are necessarily short, and occupy but a very small share in the Church offices: far the greater part is composed in a much loftier, warmer, and more poetic strain. We are not now speaking of the hymns or psalmody which enter into them, but of the bulk of the prayers composed expressly for the immediate service, to which they belong and refer. The poetical character which pervades these noble offices may be viewed in two different lights, as exhibited in the construction of single parts, or in the general combination of these into a whole. Of the former, almost every office of the "Pontifical" affords striking examples. The consecration service for a bishop, for instance, is conceived in a lofty strain of thoughts and expressions that makes it perfectly lyrical. Take the following passage, after mention

has been made of the sacerdotal robes prescribed by the Almighty in the old law. "Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostræ mentis ornatus est; et pontificalem gloriam non jam nobis honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum. Quia et illa, quæ tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant. Et idcirco huic famulo tuo, quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc quæsumus, Domine, gratiam largiaris; ut quidquid illa velamina, in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, et in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in ejus moribus actibusque clarescat. Comple in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum, cœlesti unguenti rore sanctifica."

The action is here suited to the words. The solemn chant of this beautiful prayer (for it is set to notes that add majesty and pathos to the words) is interrupted. All kneel, the hymn of the Holy Ghost is intoned, and continued by the choir, while the sacred chrism is poured upon the head of the bishop elect. Nothing can be bolder, or, we should almost say, sublimer, than this sudden break, and the introduction into it of the choral music of the hymn: after which the preface continues, actually alluding to the previous sentence, "Hoc Domine copiose in caput ejus influat; hoc in oris subjecta decurrat; hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat; ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora ejus repleat, et exteriora circumtegat." This explanation of the symbol is strikingly beautiful as it is bold; the prayer that the material unction applied only to the head should flow over and into the entire frame, is resolved into a petition that the invisible unction of the Holy Spirit may pervade the entire man. The way is thus

opened for more specific petitions, and these are in the loftiest style. We have only room for a few sentences:—"Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. Sint speciosi, munere tuo, pedes ejus ad evangelizandum pacem, ad evangelizandum bona tua. Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis in verbo et in factis, in virtute signorum et prodigiorum . . . . . Tribuas ei, Domine, cathedram episcopalem, ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam et plebem sibi commissam. Sis ei auctoritas, sis ei potentia, sis ei firmitas."[n] Then, after a concluding sentence, is intoned and sung the Psalm (cxxxii.), "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity." Seldom is this sublime prayer chanted or uttered without deep emotion. The

[n] "For the attire of that former priesthood notifies to us the ornaments of the mind; and sacerdotal glory is not now recommended by the grandeur of robes, but by the beauty of the soul. For even those things which then flattered the carnal sight, claimed those inward qualities which they signified. Wherefore, O Lord, we beseech thee to bestow upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to minister to thee in the dignity of high-priest, that whatsoever in those mystical garments was implied by the glitter of gold, the sparkling of jewels, and the varied richness of embroidery, may shine in his morals and deeds. Achieve, in thy priest, the completion of thy ministry; and, after clothing him with all the adornments of glory, sanctify him with the dew of celestial ointment.....May this, O Lord, flow abundantly on his head; may it run down over his countenance; may it descend to the extremity of his frame; so that the power of thy spirit may replenish him within; and without cover him all around. May there abound in him the constancy of faith, the purity of love, and the sincerity of peace. May his feet, by thy gift, be beautiful to preach peace, and to carry glad tidings of good things. Give to him, O Lord, the ministry of reconciliation, in words and in deeds, in the power of signs and wonders. Bestow on him, O Lord, the episcopal chair, to rule thy Church, and the flock committed to him. Be Thou unto him authority: be Thou his power, be Thou his strength."

present pontiff° once performed the consecration of two bishops; but has declared that this function was too overpowering to his feelings to be ever repeated by him. There is nothing in our modern prayers to come near to such fervid, such poetical, yet such majestic effusions. Yet this is only one part of a service filled with other passages equally noble and equally beautiful. What follows immediately is of the same character, and the prayers at the close, such as the one recited when the mitre is put upon the head of the elect, are even richer in imagery and diction. To this must be added the ceremonial that accompanies the entire service, independent of the heavenly sacrifice into which it is interwoven; and we hesitate not to say, that no human genius could have devised a rite, to which every art that deals in the beautiful, whether in form or diction, or sound, or thought, has been brought to contribute its choicest charms. If our Anglican neighbours can trace a manifestation of some divine agency in the preservation among them of some portions of the old liturgy, and can see in their prayer-book a proof of ecclesiastical life, for their establishment, what must the Catholic think of *his* Church; the services of which, compared with theirs, are as a golden tabernacle, richly jewelled and enamelled, wrought out in all the delicacy of the finest chiselling, and designed on the grandest scale, —in all the exquisiteness of pure old feeling,—placed beside the flat tablets of the Creed and Decalogue, in dead blue and pale gold, over a mahogany communion table?

Time and paper would fail us, in attempting merely to name the splendid passages, which every page,

° [Gregory XVI., who consecrated the present Cardinal Altieri, and the late Monsig. Traversi, his own professor in youth.]

opened at random in the same book, presents to us. Catholics, in general, learn far too little of it; and we hesitate not to say, that he who knows it not, cannot have any idea of half the grandeur of his religion. Why, there is not a place, or a thing, used in the worship which he attends, upon which there has not been lavished, so to speak, more rich poetry and more solemn prayers, than all our modern books put together can furnish. When he hears the bell, which, swinging in its tower, summons him to mass, he perhaps scarcely knows that a consecration has blessed it, couched in diction which is literally splendid, and expressed by symbolical rites full of the deepest meaning and the finest feeling. What an idea would he not conceive of the consciousness of power which the Church-Catholic possesses, if he had heard her commit to that brazen herald of her offices, power to dispel, by its deep-toned voice, "the enemy's fiery shafts, the thunderbolt's stroke, the hailstone's crash, the tempest's destruction?" How lofty would her estimate appear of the holy influence which everything connected with her services should exercise, when even this their iron-tongued harbinger has a blessing on it, prayed for in such terms as these?

"O God, who didst order, that by the blessed lawgiver Moses, thy servant, there should be made silver trumpets, which when the priest during the time of sacrifice should sound, the people warned by their sweet notes should prepare to adore Thee, and assemble for the sacrifices; by the clang whereof encouraged to battle, they should overthrow their enemies' designs; grant, we beseech Thee, that this vessel prepared for Thy holy Church, may be sanctified by the Holy Ghost, so that by its stroke the faithful may be invited to their reward. And when its melody shall sound in the ears of the people, may the devotion of faith increase within them: may all the snares of the enemy, the clattering hail, the furious whirlwind, the impetuous tempest, be driven afar: may hostile thunders die away, and windy blasts subside into gentle and wholesome breezes. The strength of

Thy right hand cast down all spirits of evil; that hearing this bell, they may tremble; and may fly from the banner of the holy Cross of Thy Son, which hath been painted upon it,—that banner to which every knee bendeth of things heavenly, things earthly, and things infernal, and every tongue confesseth, that our Lord Jesus Christ himself, having swallowed up death in the ignominious cross, reigneth in the glory of God the Father, with the same Father, and Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."[p]

What the Church does for the bells which send her invitations to her distant children, she does with even more feeling and beauty of thought and expression, for

[p] Or even in a higher strain, as follows, which we gladly give in the original:—"Omnipotens dominator Christe, quo secundum carnis assumptionem dormiente in navi, dum oborta tempestas mare conturbasset, te protinus excitato et imperante dissiluit; tu necessitatibus populi tui benignus succurre; tu hoc tintinnabulum Sancti Spiritus rore perfunde; ut ante sonitum illius semper fugiat bonorum inimicus; invitetur ad fidem populus Christianus; hostilis terreatur exercitus; confortetur in Domino per illud populus tuus convocatus; ac sicut Davidica cithara delectatus desuper descendat Spiritus Sanctus: atque ut Samuele agnum lactentem mactante in holocaustum regis æterni imperii, fragor aurarum turbam repulit adversantium; ita dum hujus vasculi sonitus transit per nubila, ecclesiæ tuæ conventum manus conservet Angelica, fruges credentium, mentes et corpora salvet protectio sempiterna."

The same feeling runs through the following beautiful prayer, by which the water is blessed, to be employed in the blessing of the bell:—

"Benedic Domine hanc aquam benedictione cælesti, et assistat super eam virtus Spiritus Sancti; ut cum hoc vasculum ad invitandos filios sanctæ ecclesiæ præparatum, in ea fuerit tinctum, ubicumque sonuerit hoc tintinnabulum, procul recedat virtus insidiantium, umbra phantasmatum, incursio turbinum, percussio fulminum, læsio tonitruorum, calamitas tempestatum, omnisque spiritus procellarum; et cum clangorem illius audierint filii Christianorum, crescat in eis devotionis augmentum, ut festinantes ad piæ matris ecclesiæ gremium, cantent tibi in ecclesia sanctorum canticum novum, deferentes in sono præconium tubæ, modulationem psalterii, suavitatem organi, exultationem tympani, jucunditatem cymbali; quatenus in templo sancto gloriæ tuæ suis obsequiis et precibus invitare valeant multitudinem exercitus Angelorum."

every portion of the sacred edifice, in which her own small still voice speaks to their hearts. From floor to roof-tree, from lintel to altar, from aisle to aisle, blessings are scattered, like flowers of heavenly brilliancy and hue, on the day of their consecration. It is indeed a pity that every Catholic cannot, once at least in his life, witness this holiest ceremony. When performed with that quiet accuracy and calm dignity which should characterize every Church function; when all the attendants know exactly their places and their offices; when all the necessary preparations have been made, and all the many accessories provided in good taste; when the processions are decorously ordered, the music is thoroughly ecclesiastical, and the chanted portions are solemnly given, the entire ceremony is more like a vision of Patmos, than an earthly scene. But we are forgetting that the prayers are our proper theme; although, to say the truth, they are, in this instance, so worked up with action, and this is so grand, so tender, so mystical, so awful, that they cannot justly be considered apart. The consecration of the church and the altar are so blended, and their beautiful prayers run so admirably into one another; the function is carried, with such variety, over every part of the sacred edifice, outward and inward, and is interspersed with such exquisite expressions of feeling, that the whole forms a sacred drama, full of stirring interest and movement, and sustained by the noblest forms and diction. When the relics of martyrs are introduced, in the middle of the service, and greeted first with such anthems as this:—"Surgite Sancti Dei de mansionibus vestris, loca sanctificate, plebem benedicite, et nos homines peccatores in pace custodite;" and afterwards, when borne into the church on the shoulders of priests, and followed by

the people, are welcomed by several such apostrophes as the following:—"Ingredimini Sancti Dei, præparata est enim a Domino habitatio sedis vestræ: sed et populus fidelis cum gaudiis insequitur iter vestrum, ut oretis pro nobis Majestatem Domini: Alleluja;" we have the communion between the ancient and the living Church, and between the militant of all times and the triumphant, so vividly and so feelingly brought home to us; we are so affectionately associated with those glorious martyrs, whom we are burying with honour "beneath the altar of God,"[q] and whose radiant spirits we must believe to be hovering over us and taking part in our holy service, that the very spark of Catholicity must have been extinguished in the breast, that glows not with warm, yet most tender, emotions, in assisting at the function.

But once more we are allowing ourselves to stray. From the variety, then, of magnificent prayers, with which this service abounds, we will select one, which, though long, will allow us to mark some of the most distinguishing characters of the ancient liturgical prayers. It is the concluding prayer of the blessing bestowed upon water mingled with other ingredients, to be used in the consecration of a church.

"Be hallowed, through God's word, O heavenly stream! be hallowed, O water pressed by the footsteps of Christ; thou, pent within mountains, canst not be imprisoned, dashed amidst rocks canst not be broken, and spread over the earth, art wasted not! Thou bearest up the dry land, carriest the weight of mountains, and yet art not crushed; thou art treasured in the heaven's summit; thou, poured out on every side, washest all, and needest not to be thyself cleansed! Thou, for the Jewish people in its flight, art congealed to a solid mass; and, again dissolved into foaming billows, destroyest the tribes of the Nile, and with thy furious current pursuest the hostile band: thus at once salvation to the faithful, and to the wicked a scourge!

[q] Apoc. vi. 9.

Thee the rock struck by Moses rendered up; nor couldst thou lurk within its caverns, when the majestic command ordered thee to come forth! Thou, embosomed in clouds, dost gladden the fields with fertilizing showers! Through thee is poured out, for bodies parched with heat, a draught delicious at once and quickening: thou, bounding through the earth's hidden veins, furnishest her vital spirits, or her prolific nutriments; lest, inwardly scorched and withered, she should languishing refuse her appointed produce! Through thee the beginning, through thee the end exults! Or rather it cometh from God that we should know not thy boundaries: yea, rather *Thy* boundaries, O God Almighty! whose glorious works we knowingly proclaim, while we celebrate the praises of thine element: THOU art the author of all blessing: THOU the fountain of salvation! *Thee* therefore we entreat suppliantly, and pray; shower down upon this house, in abundant streams, Thy blessing: liberally bestow every good gift; prosper it, protect it: destroy the demon of evil deeds, appoint an angel of light for its friend, its administrator, its protector. This house, begun in Thy name, finished with Thy help, Thy blessing strengthen, that it may long endure. May these foundations deserve Thy safeguard, the roofs Thy covering, the doors Thine entrance, the interior thy presence! Make the firmness of these walls, through the light of Thy countenance, be for the welfare of men."

Here the bishop marks the door with the sign of the cross, and continues:—

"Be the unvanquished cross planted on its threshold; may both the doorposts be inscribed with the declaration of Thy favour; and in the abundance of Thy mercies, may there be given to all who visit Thy house, peace with plenty, sobriety with modesty, superfluity with charitableness. All unquiet and calamity fly far hence! Want, plague, disease, weakness, and the assaults of evil spirits, retreat before Thy coming; that the grace of Thy visitation, poured out in this place, may overflow its boundaries, and stream through its surrounding courts: that this cleansing flood may find its way into every nook and crevice, and so there may ever reign here the cheerfulness of peace, the kindness of hospitality, abundance of produce, reverence for religion, and plenteous means of salvation. And unto the place where Thy holy Name is invoked, let an ample supply come of all good things, let all temptations to evil be put to flight; and may we be worthy to have with us the Angel of peace, chastity, charity, and truth, who may ever preserve, guard, and defend us!"

What an elevated tone is this for prayer! how full

it is of confidence; how copious and accurate, yet how fervent and enthusiastic are its expressions! But we wish to note some marked and very strong peculiarities in our Church prayers, which widely distinguish them from modern compositions. It is remarkable, then, how grandly the Church, in her solemn offices, deals with all visible and sensible substances, and enters minutely into their qualities, extracting from them the richest materials for mystical allusions and applications. She seems so to contemplate nature throughout, as subservient to grace,—the outward world as ruled for the sake of the spiritual,—she reads God her Founder and Benefactor, so clearly in every property of matter,—finds such motives for religious gratitude in every disposition of the physical laws,—that she truly raises this lower sphere, through its alliance with faith, into a region of purer and holier existence, where the direct splendour of the Divinity is the sun that warms, and fructifies, gives life and growth. Throughout the preceding prayer, the properties of water seem to be rather marvellous prerogatives, than natural attributes; it is represented as a live and busy power, exercising a spontaneous and free agency, a conscious principle: by the intermixture of its physical qualities, with its providential uses in the course of God's dealings with man, both seem to be reduced to one class, and the blessings which we and nature receive through this necessary element, seem part of the order of grace, and only preparatory for the mystical and spiritual application made of it by the Church of God. The same tone of feeling will be found to prevail in all other similar blessings. The salt, or ashes, or wax, or oil, or other substance employed in her ritual, and solemnly blessed on particular days, as on Ash-Wednesday, Holy-Saturday, or Maundy-

Thursday, are all treated, in the blessing appointed for them, as having in their physical existence a necessary connection with their intended religious uses: the bee has toiled at her cheerful task, and the olive has been gifted with perpetual greenness and with its rich succulency, chiefly that Christ's spouse might be furnished with what was necessary for her spiritual household.[r] In our ordinary prayers we speak as men involved in servitude to the material world; we find hindrances and contentions, nay, mastery and tyranny in every part of nature; we feel that we are one of the race condemned to stubborn tillage of an ungracious and ungrateful earth; we are ever walking amidst the briers and thorns that spring from our own labours; we are ever spoiling our work with the sweat that drops from our brows. There is a creeping gait, a hiding attitude amidst the shrubs of our vale of tears, when we go to meet the God whom we have offended. The Church takes at once the bold and rightful posture of one who hath been cleansed in the laver of blood beyond a world's price, till she is without spot or wrinkle, a *holy* Church;—the Spouse of Him, who held the privileges of sinless man, and never forfeited the rights of paradise; of Him who, in virtue of His lawful power, could command the winds and waves, could strike with blight the tree that bore Him not figs, and could multiply the bread of a family into an army's food. She looks on the elements, whether of earth or of the firmament, as engaged, nay, as held fast,

[r] "Alitur enim liquantibus ceris quas in substantiam *pretiosæ* hujus lampadis, apis mater eduxit."—Blessing of Paschal candle. "Qui in principio inter cetera bonitatis tuæ munera terram producere fructifera ligna jussisti, inter quæ hujus pinguissimi liquoris ministri olivæ nascerentur, quarum fructus sacro chrismati deserviret."—Consecration of the Chrism.

in her service; she takes the earth as her inheritance, and the fulness thereof; and she commands the former as a lord would rebellious slaves, as *her* Lord rebuked the storms, nothing fearing their loud disdain, or their reluctant mutterings: and from the latter she chooses the richest produce, and claims it as due to her service, as intended for her uses, and she gives it value and sacredness, which in the natural course it possessed not. She does not merely pray that it may be so: but she wills that it be. Blessings are inherent in her words, her supplications carry the force of a compact with heaven. The bread that issues from her granaries, and the wine that flows from her vessels, are gifts too precious to be called by earthly names; and the oil from her press is fraught with a spiritual fragrance, yields a light and an unction, which no power in nature could have bestowed. They went into her stores tributes of earth; she has made them, in very various degrees, celestial gifts. This dominion over nature, which the Church so magnificently assumes, is still further illustrated by another reflection. It is, that, while thus praying apparently over one small fragment or portion of a material substance, she seems, through it, to bless the entire element; it is not as though she had selected a certain share for herself, and left the rest to its natural profaneness: but she appears to vindicate to herself the whole, making it all sacred, and all subservient to holy purposes. She keeps no distinction of times and places, but brings together the most distant, in both, in the lofty view which she thus takes of things. The water which she is blessing is that on which the blessed feet of Jesus trod, that which Moses struck from the rock. In like manner, when she commemorates a day or season, she seems to lose count of ages, and treats

the most distant eras as though now present. The night, for instance, on which Israel escaped from Egypt, and the glorious morning whereon Christ rose triumphant from the grave, are both celebrated on Holy-Saturday, as if centuries had not interposed between the two, and between them and us. And so the day of death seems ever spoken of as though it were that of final doom, and the fearful imagery of the latter is boldly appropriated to the former.

Do we, then, mean to say, that an unauthorized composer of prayers (we do not use the epithet in an invidious sense) should attempt so bold and so authoritative a tone as is used by the Church? Certainly not. But we think, that we should pray more in and with the Church; much more, that is, in her spirit, and more even in her words. Her example, at least, shows, that we need not be afraid of letting the more vivid powers of the mind and heart have their play; that there is no danger in allowing the imagination to soar somewhat above the flat ceiling above us, and to roam a brief space among visions of past mercies and future glories, prophetic imagery and heavenly revelations, living with saints and angels, as St. John Chrysostom so much loves to do: that we may fearlessly permit the deeper and warmer current of feeling to flow, which our religion alone can unlock,—to flow in sorrow, in gratitude, in love, but in each, earnest, tender, affectionate: and, in fine, that there can be no ground for alarm, if this stream will not be pent up, but must needs find a vent; and so gush out at the eyes in tears, and pour itself out from the lips in impassioned expressions, in half-broken accents, in hymn-like tones. We may learn, that "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," are the language of prayer according to the Church's ideas and prac-

tice; and that, whether Englishman or foreigner, her example should be to us a rule that allows no national distinction or exception.[s]

[s] "It has also been my wish" (in this compilation) "to modify those expressions of devotion, which, translated from the vocabularies of more energetic nations, appear familiar and even profane to our sober habits of thought, and to expunge all declarations of exaggerated feeling," &c.—The Family Prayer-Book, 1st ed. p. 4. The amiable and pious author of this work has not inserted this passage in his third edition. But the prayers composed on the principle here described have remained unaltered. We should prefer the declaration of such a principle to stand, that future readers may know it. For, otherwise, they might attribute the variations in some beautiful prayers to negligence rather than to design. As an illustration of what we take to be the author's meaning, we will give the first part of what we have always considered a very beautiful prayer, in the original and in its translation. It is a prayer of St. Bonaventure after communion:—

"Transfige, dulcissime Domine Jesu, medullas et viscera animæ meæ, suavissimo ac saluberrimo amoris tui vulnere, vera serenaque et apostolica sanctissima charitate; ut langueat et liquefiat anima mea solo semper amore et desiderio Tui, Te concupiscat et deficiat in atria Tua, cupiat dissolvi et esse Tecum.. Da ut anima mea Te esuriat, panem angelorum, refectionem animarum sanctarum."

"Inspire, most dear Lord Jesus, I beseech Thee, inspire into every recess of my heart, and into every tendency of my affections, Thy dear and saving love; Thy true, Thy calm, Thy holy and apostolic charity: so that my soul may ever long for Thee: may ever raise itself in spirit to Thy heavenly abode: may ever desire to be dissolved and to be with Thee. Oh grant that my soul may ever tend towards Thee, Thou bread of angels! Thou refreshment of holy hearts."—P. 219.

Compare the two, phrase by phrase, and it will be seen that almost every figurative expression has been suppressed, and the warm poetry of the prayer turned into cold prose. It is as the rose despoiled of its perfume, as a rich fruit from which the juice has been squeezed out. We trust it does not appear "profane to our sober habits of thought" to apply the epithet *dulcissime* in one of the "sweetest" sounds of our language, to our B. Lord, the "*Casta lux amantium.*" It is far from our intention to convey reproof on the excellent author;

The prayers which we have quoted suggest another source of vivid poetical feeling, which is greatly, and, we believe, wrongfully, overlooked in our modern systems of prayer. It was manifestly the sense and conviction of those who composed the prayers of the ancient Church, that we are living in a perfect atmosphere of invisible and spiritual enemies, who disturb nature, thwart the providential direction of things, play foully on our imagination, trouble our peace, and try to pervert our reasons. They meddle with everything that is of use to man, and endeavour to mar its purposes. They infest every place in which they can tempt and seduce him—from his own dwelling to the house of God itself. Earth, and air, and water, are equally their elements; the first is shaken and convulsed, the second is darkened by thunderclouds and tortured into whirlwinds, the third is lashed into foaming billows, by their permitted, but most malicious agency. The doctrine, on this head, is clearly apostolical;[t] and that it was apprehended by the early Church, in a far more lively manner than by our duller faith, the writings of the fathers clearly prove. Now, the Church, in all her prayers, considers herself appointed to be the antagonist and vanquisher of this hostile crew; and while she shows her deep and earnest conviction of the difficulties of the contest, she betrays no uneasiness about its results. She hath power to rule and to quell these spirits of darkness. Moreover, she is not alone in the conflict. Every part of her offices displays her assurance, that a bright circle of heavenly spirits is arrayed around her, for the protection of herself and her children; spirits who can

but we find fault with the system under which his and most modern prayer-books are compiled. We want less fear and more affection.

[t] Ephes. vi. 12.

wrestle upon equal terms with those unsubstantial foes, and whose swords are tempered for their subtle natures. There mingle, too, in all her religious actions, legions of blessed saints, who have loved and honoured her upon earth, and who now worship and pray, invisible, with her children. These strong impressions of the incessant conflict going on between the enemies and the friends of God, are clearly and feelingly expressed by the Church, in innumerable places. The whole rite of consecration of a church keeps before our eyes the efforts which will be made by our invisible tempters to spoil God's work. The cross is planted at the door, the walls are purified and blessed, prayers are repeatedly poured out, to shield the holy place and its worshippers against the fraud and violence of wicked spirits. The blessings of bells, of crosses, and of reliquaries, have reference to the same idea. No substance is employed in any solemn rite (except the Eucharistic elements, which are deemed holy from their very destination), without a previous exorcism or adjuration of the enemy, that he quit all hold upon them, and presume not to misuse them. The water, the salt, and the oil, consecrated for sacramental unction, are all so prepared; and the blessing upon them, and upon other similar objects, is, that wherever they are presented, sprinkled, or used, evil spirits may be put to flight, and their malice and wiles be confounded. The solemn application of this feeling in the rite of baptism has been well enforced by Dr. Pusey, in his *Tract on Baptism*, where he regrets the loss, in the Anglican ritual, of that portion of the service so calculated to produce strong impressions on the faithful.

There is surely a mysterious sublimity in this idea, the effect of which is most striking, and almost over-

powering in these and other Church offices. The priest or bishop who attentively and devoutly performs them, feels himself necessarily as one acting, with power and authority, against a fearful enemy; in the name of the Church he is striving against him for mastery; he is wresting from his gripe, by a strong hand, one of God's creatures, which he has enslaved; or he is beating off legions of dark, gloomy spirits, who flap their unclean wings, and with sullen flight retreat beyond the precincts from which they are driven, and hovering around them, as vultures kept from their prey, dare not violate the seal of Christ's holy cross placed upon its anointed doors. Prayers composed to express and exercise this high authority, must have a solemn and most elevated tone; the very idea must fill them with poetry of the highest order. It has often struck us, that "the world of spirits" has been far too much forgotten amongst us; that we think more of the two visible powers in the triple confederacy of evil, than of the far stronger and subtler of the three—nay, the master of the other two. We seem literally to have renounced "the devil and all his works," by never troubling ourselves about them. With the exception of one or two prayers, which we have borrowed from the Church office, an allusion to this state of conflict is seldom met with in our devotions. We fight our spiritual battles as if only with tangible foes, and, consequently, with material weapons; we arm ourself with caution against danger, and with prudence against temptation; we study how we shall avoid sin by shunning men, how we shall escape passion by fleeing from conversation; but we forget that we have an enemy near and around us, whom no foresight or prudence can elude or prevent, who will bring the dangers to us even in a desert, and surround us with

temptations even in a cell. The only chance against him is in prayer; but in prayer such as the Church employs, full of deep conviction that what we pray against is a reality and no fiction, of earnestness proportioned to the perils to be averted, and of loving trustfulness in the protection of the God of heaven, who will make us walk on the asp and the basilisk, and in the guardianship of those blessed spirits, who will bear us up in their hands, through His commission. This commerce, then, between the visible and the invisible world, both for weal and for woe, we would gladly see brought far more home to our every-day thoughts, and to our habitual feelings, in prayer, than is done in modern compilations. The weakening of our faith upon one side makes it faint upon the other; and the less we are impressed with the reality of our conflict with an unseen host, the less vivid will our thoughts be regarding our no less invisible allies. On this score, too, we think ourselves deficient. Our prayers to them—we mean such as enter into our daily exercises—seem like a formal request for intercession addressed to beings far removed from us—not the cheerful and confident conversation with friends close at hand, praying at our sides, and habitually interceding for us. Our sense of angelic presence, and of saintly communion, would be judged exceedingly dull if estimated by our prayer-books. How different from the joyous, the friendly, and affectionate intercourse with those serene and kindly creatures of God, which exists in the ancient liturgies of every country, and in the Pontifical Ritual, and other offices of our own Church. How surely their favourable hearing is counted on, how confidently their protecting might is expected! or, rather, how warmly are they addressed as present; and how boldly does the Church

take up their own song as hers; and, joining in choir with them, singing the praises of God, seem to bind them to join her, supplicating mercy for herself!

One could not help being struck most painfully a few years ago, with the manifestation of this defective feeling, made by attacking the Litany of Our Lady, in a Catholic periodical. The chief objection seemed to be the want, in it, of connection, or of continuous sense, and the mystical and obscure character of the epithets applied to the Blessed Mother of God. It was considered that these might be particularly displeasing, and a hindrance, to converts or inquirers. Traces of these apprehensions are, we think, observable in some of the books before us,—in the introduction of other new litanies in her honour, with an intimation, in one instance, that no doubt "converts will prefer" the new form. This new form, we do not deny, is a very excellent and accurate condensation of the Church litany, and may serve as an admirable commentary on it; but, for devotional purposes, we should be sorry indeed to see any alteration introduced: nor have we yet met any convert who desired it. Again, our feeling is, what the Church has sanctioned, by universal and constant use, let us not wish to alter; let us continue to be her children, and leave her to judge what is best for us. But this litany must be viewed in its proper light, and then it can give no offence. It is, like so many other prayers, not in verse, like the *Gloria in Excelsis,* for instance, or the *Te Deum,* a hymn, a song of affectionate admiration, and, at the same time, of earnest entreaty. The latter suggests the frequent repetition of the cry for intercession; the former, the accumulation of enthusiastic terms and poetical epithets. It is the most natural expression of tender attachment, to be found in every writer, inspired

or uninspired, who utters words of love. When the priests approach Judith, after the victory due to her valour, they thus address her: "Tu gloria Jerusalem, tu lætitia Israel, tu honorificentia populi nostri."[u] In the Canticles such expressions do not surprise us:—"Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni."[x] Or, coming nearer to our case, we need only quote St. Cyril of Alexandria, to have authority for what we say. Hear him apostrophize the Blessed Mother of God, in the following terms:—"Hail, Mary, Mother of God, venerable treasure of the entire Church, inextinguishable lamp, crown of virginity, sceptre of true doctrine, indissoluble temple, abode of Him who is infinite, Mother and Virgin . . . Thou through whom the Holy Trinity is glorified; Thou through whom the precious cross is honoured; Thou through whom heaven exults; Thou through whom angels and archangels rejoice; Thou through whom evil spirits are put to flight . . . Thou from whom is the oil of gladness; Thou through whom, over the whole world, churches were planted; Thou through whom prophets spoke; Thou through whom apostles preached; Thou through whom the dead arise; Thou through whom kings reign, through the Blessed Trinity."[y] Now here is a litany not unlike that of Loreto, and we have only to say, *Pray for us*, after each of the salutations, to have a very excellent one. This intercalation would surely not spoil, nor render less natural, or less beautiful, that address of the holy patriarch. It is evident that, in it, he is more of the enthusiastic poet than of the wary orator. The litany, too, is not a studied prayer, intended to have logical connection of parts, but, as we have already stated, is a

[u] Jud. xv. 10. [x] Cant. ii. 10, 13, 14.

[y] Homil. in Nestor. Oper. tom. v. p. ii. p. 355, ed. Aubert.

hymn of admiration and love, composed of a succession of epithets expressive of those feelings, the recital of which is broken into, after every phrase, by the people or chorus, begging the prayer of her to whom they are so worthily applied. It is poetry of that class which an Oriental would not unaptly compare to a string of loose pearls, each beautiful in itself, but more beautiful from the manner in which it is matched by its fellows; and the whole collection appearing richer from the absence of a more artful and stiffly-connecting setting. Nor, in this sort of poetry, does one think of analyzing coldly every phrase, struck off, as it may be, by a fervid imagination in the warmth of feeling: certainly even remote analogies will often supply metaphors to affection; nor would it be easy to submit to severe tests some of the expressions of St. Cyril. At the same time we will venture to say, that there is not one term in our litany, which does not admit of the happiest and fullest application to its exalted subject.

It may be said, that we have selected our instances of the Church's prayers from more recondite sources, and from offices which can be witnessed, or even read, by a comparatively small number of the faithful. This is truly so; and we have therein been led by a sufficient motive. We wished to show, though necessarily in a very imperfect manner, that there are valuable stores of devotion not near as much known as could be wished. We would have the Ritual and the Pontifical in great part made accessible to the laity by good translations; we would have their services commented upon, both by word and writing. They could not fail to be brought to a deeper sense of their own duties and of their own wants, by frequent meditation on the baptismal, matrimonial, and other services of the one; they would be inspired with more serious and

more exalted ideas concerning the worship of God and the sacred character of His ministers, were they made familiar with the magnificent forms of consecration, employed in the dedication of places and things to His service, and of ordination, whereby His priests are gradually introduced to the sublime offices of the sanctuary.

But whatever we have said, till now, of any other Church services, will be more strikingly applicable to the sublimest of them all,—her liturgy, or the mass. This is far too copious a subject to be treated cursorily, or by way of illustration. We have not been surprised, that, in latter years, there should have prevailed a much greater use than formerly, of the missal as a prayer-book, and that even it should be found expedient to print, in other books of devotion, the "Ordinary of the Mass." This feeling, on the part of the faithful, shows their sense of the superiority of the Church prayers over any substitutes for them. Nor, in fact, can any human genius hope to attain their beauty and sublimity. In these two qualities, the mass differs from all other offices in a remarkable manner. It has not merely flights of eloquence and poetry, strikingly displayed in particular prayers, but it is sustained throughout in the higher sphere, to which its divine purpose naturally raises it. If we examine each prayer separately, it is perfect; perfect in construction, perfect in thought, and perfect in expression. If we consider the manner in which they are brought together, we are struck with the brevity of each, with the sudden but beautiful transitions, and the almost stanza-like effect with which they succeed one another, forming a lyrical composition of surpassing beauty. If we take the entire service, as a whole, it is constructed with the most admirable symmetry, proportioned in

its parts with perfect judgment, and so exquisitely arranged, as to excite and preserve an unbroken interest in the sacred action. No doubt, to give full force and value to this sacred rite, its entire ceremonial is to be considered. The assistants, with their noble vestments, the chant, the incense, the more varied ceremonies which belong to a solemn mass, are all calculated to increase veneration and admiration. But still, the essential beauties remain, whether the holy rite be performed under the golden vault of St. Peter's, with all the pomp and circumstance befitting its celebration by the sovereign pontiff, or in a wretched wigwam, erected in haste by some poor savages for their missionary. What can be more appropriate than the opening psalm and humble confession of sin by priest and people, the former yet standing at a distance from the altar, feeling himself unworthy to approach! Then comes the Introit, which seems intended to be the key-note to the whole service; which, being one in its essence, yet adapts itself to all our wants, whether of propitiation or of thanksgiving, whether of evils to be averted or blessings to be gained. Sometimes this introductory verse is loud and joyous,—"Gaudeamus omnes in Domino;" sometimes low and plaintive,—"Miserere mihi Domine quoniam tribulor;" in the paschal solemnity, the Alleluja rings through it all, like a peel of cheerful bells; in Passion-tide, even the "Gloria Patri" is silent, and it falls melancholy and dull; when a saint is commemorated, the nature of his virtues and his triumphs is at once proclaimed; if it be a festival of Our Lord, the mystery which it celebrates is solemnly announced. The chord struck, at the opening of the service, returns at intervals, as if to keep up the tone through[illegible]

Gradual, the Offertory, and the Communion, the verses read are in perfect harmony with it; and having, moreover, a corresponding, and even deeper echo in the Collects, Gospel, and Preface, one feeling is preserved, suited to the devotion which the liturgy, in its essence and main purposes invariable, is intended secondarily to excite. The *Kyrie eleison*, — that cry for mercy, which is to be found in every liturgy of East and West, — seems introduced as if to give grander effect to the outburst of joy and praise which succeeds it in the "*Gloria in excelsis;*" it is a deepening of our humiliation, that our triumph may be the better felt. That hymn itself is full of beauties; the best demonstration of which is, that no composition ever lent itself more perfectly to the musician's skill; none ever afforded better play to the rich and rapid succession of every mode, gay and grave; none better supplied the slow and entreating cadence, or the full and powerful chorus. In the simple Gregorian chant, or in the pure religious harmonies of Palestrina, it is truly the "Hymn of Angels."

We should feel ourselves wholly unequal to the task of pointing out the excellence of the prayers which occupy the essential portion of the liturgy, from the Offertory to the end. It has often struck us, that one single word could not be changed to advantage in any one of them; that there is more meaning compressed into a small space than in almost any other composition which we know; and that everything is said which could be required or desired. All the prayers connected with the Offertory are remarkably short; but they are full of vigour and of feeling; there is in them a most heavenly and sublime simplicity, a mild and tender pathos. When the priest, having

completed his oblation, bows himself down upon the altar, and humbles himself in contrition of heart, as unworthy of his ministry, then with a noble confidence rises erect, lifts his hands and eyes to heaven, and solemnly invokes the God who dwells there, saying:— "Veni Sanctificator, omnipotens æterne Deus," and in His name blesses the sacred gift, — there is an awful grandeur in the rite; an assurance of its efficacy in heaven as on earth. It seems as though the priest instantly retired, in order to make way for Him whom he had so powerfully called down to bless his offering, and went to seek still greater purity of hands and heart, so to return to his ministration more worthy to "hear the words of praise" which the Church, in concert with holy angels, is about to sing in her hosannas. The prefaces are all perfect in substance and in form; there could not be a more splendid introduction, with the hymn which closes them, to the divine rite that follows. Here we must pause: because the subject becomes too sacred for our pen; the ground upon which we are about to tread is holy, and the shoes must be loosed from the feet of him who will venture upon it. To speak worthily on it, requires language and a mood far removed from the humble office which we are exercising. We stated, at the outset, that we were not going to read a homily upon prayer, but only to act the ungrateful part of critics. We therefore content ourselves with saying, that those who would wish to learn how prayers may or should be composed, should meditate long and deeply upon these apostolic prayers, which have nothing beyond them save God's inspired word.

In all that we have written, we should be sorry to be interpreted as casting blame upon the compilers of our modern works of devotion. This was far

removed from our intention. Of the authors whose collections stand at the head of our article we cannot but speak with respect. One is a layman of exemplary life, and zealously attached to the holy religion which he professes. On the plan which he has pursued we may differ, but without any diminution on our parts of kindness and respect. Another is a veteran grown grey in the battles of the Lord, one whose ready pen has seldom been laid down in the cause of truth and piety, and who, by an acquaintance with Protestant theologians rare on our side, has furnished succeeding controversialists with many new arms. Of the third, the truly venerable, learned, and saintly Dr. Challoner, it would be both unjust and ungrateful, were any English Catholic to speak in terms other than of profound admiration and sincere respect. He has alone furnished us with a library of religious works, the privation of which would create a void, not easily to be filled up by many other men's writings. The catechism from which we learnt the first rudiments of our faith, that by which we early became acquainted with sacred history, or versed in controversial discussion, the prayer-book with which we have been most familiar, the meditations which have afforded daily instruction to us in families and in communities, many of our most solid and most clear works of controversy, the charming records of our fathers in the faith, the missionary priests, the martyrology of our ancient Church, and many other works, we owe to this really great and good man; and we know not what we should have done, or what we should have been, without them. He supplied, in fact, almost the entire range of necessary or useful religious literature for his Catholic fellow-countrymen; and that at a time when such a supply must

have been truly as a boon from heaven. Yes, and at a time when such works were not published without some personal risk and danger. Far be it from us, immensely inferior as we feel ourselves, in every good quality, to this holy bishop, to impair his honour or speak disparagingly of his merits. Our only surprise and regret is, that we Catholics of this country have never thought of expressing our obligations to him by some monument to his memory, now that we may safely proclaim our feelings as well as our religion.[z]

But while we are grateful for all that we have received, we may be forgiven if we ask for more. Holy desires may grow; and what satisfied their yearnings in their weaker state, may not be sufficient food for them in their strength. And we believe sincerely that the longings of our people after the higher spirit of devotion, is, and has for some time been, on the increase. Devotions, formerly but little known and practised, are becoming, thank God, familar to us, as to the rest of the Church. We may instance the Rosary, that favourite tribute of sympathy to God's blessed Mother, from her affectionate children, which is every day coming into more general use. Other devotions we could name, which evince a growing love for the tenderer and more moving class of religious emotions. These we want to see supplied with wholesome and nutritious food, and not left to pick up, where they can, either a scanty or an unsound diet. It has appeared to us that our present

[z] [I feel it a duty to say, that time and observation have only confirmed this my estimate of Bishop Challoner's great merits and virtues. And this I do, as a protest against the unjust, and uncalled for, censure cast upon this exemplary prelate in the *Rambler* for June, 1851, p. 491, *note*.]

books answer not this craving. The passion, for instance, of our Lord, is but insufficiently presented to the mind and affections. Its merits and the blessings it purchased are fully expressed,—sense of gratitude clearly impressed; but the moving and piercing scenes of that great mystery do not occupy that prominent place which we humbly think they ought. The reciter of our ordinary prayer is not conducted by them to the foot of the Cross; Calvary is not the mountain on which we usually pray. Yet never was soul trained to sublime virtue and tender piety, without much sitting on that hill of sorrows. For we may ask, might not a person, day after day, recite the prayers which form our ordinary exercises, without having his thoughts vividly turned towards those affecting scenes, which should form the theme of daily meditation? And, if so, is there not an important want to be supplied? Nor would there be difficulty in supplying it. The writings of St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, Thomas à Kempis, and many modern contemplatives, would furnish abundance of materials. It is true that separate works, containing prayers on this and other particular subjects, may be procured; but the great body of persons do not think of such devotions, unless they be brought before them in their ordinary books, and as connected with their usual prayers. The introduction of them, and of more prayers to the B. Sacrament, and to the holy Mother of God, would help to add expression of greater feeling to our devotional stores.

After all, this world is dry and weary enough to be as a desert to a religious soul. There is little enough of heart in its ordinary transactions, to make one long for some place in which ours may be allowed freely to expand. We have no recurrence of sacred

representations and symbols to keep constantly awake our more sacred feelings; no crucifixes on the way-side, no saints at the corners of the streets. We have little or nothing (with few exceptions in some favoured spots) of the dignity and majesty of religious functions; few of us can witness those moving ceremonials, or attend at those especial services of stated seasons, which work so powerfully on the soul, and, for a time at least, elevate it to noble thoughts, or melt it to tenderness. We have scarcely any of those appliances which abound in Catholic countries, that rouse habitual apathy, or kindle up confirmed lukewarmness; such as spiritual retreats, or missionary preaching. Nay, we are worse off than all this. The holy sacrifice, the liturgy of our Church, is not accessible to many of us as a daily service; distance, or want of time or of opportunity, may prevent our attending it; even the house of God, and the adorable Treasure which it contains, cease to be to us a home, an ever-lighted hearth at which our natural chillness may be daily warmed. On what, then, have we to rely for religious fervour, for affectionate devotion, for all the variety of earnest, of deep, of tender feelings towards our God and Father, towards our Saviour and Judge? Why, almost exclusively on our prayer-books. Their contents are the fuel by which the fire of habitual piety must be kept up, and the flame of heavenly charity daily enkindled. And these prayers are to be recited, too, under every disadvantage; while kneeling probably against a chair or the bed which we have just left, without a crucifix or pious image before us, or any other religious association that can call up the idea of a place dedicated to God; or, perhaps, in the very room in which we have all just enjoyed our evening meal, and jested and laughed, or quarrelled,

or talked over harassing cares and worldly vexations! Should not our prayers be very pleasing and inviting, and, at the same time, very warm and inspiring, to serve this twofold purpose, — of cheering the barrenness of this vale of tears, and of keeping alive the fire of heaven in our souls? If this world is a dry and heartless waste ("fructu vacuum, floribus aridum," as the Church so beautifully describes it), surely our "Garden of the Soul," our "Paradisus Animæ," should be in proportion a green choice spot, a well-watered pleasaunce — a "hortus irriguus," wherein everything should contrast with the brier-bearing land of exile without. The plants that grow in it must be ever living, ever fresh, ever blooming; and withal most varied in hue, in shape, in fragrance, and in produce. Whether we seek the melancholy shade, or love to bask in the sunny light of heaven, there must be found the same serene atmosphere, the same holy calm; the darkness of the one must inspire no despondency or dejection; the sparkling beauties of the other must not dazzle, or make us forget our low condition. The blessed feelings which it inspires should rise as incense in the morning up to heaven, and descend as soft dew upon the soul at evening. The tree of life, ever fruitful, ever quickening, should be planted in the midst, — the Cross of our Lord, our refuge in affliction, our staff in weakness, and our chastener in over-joy. There should be a choice of prayers for every state, for every season, for every circumstance; but in every case the same fervour, the same tone of affection, of confidence, and of earnestness, should prevail. Our hearts should burn as we recite them; our souls should be associated with the blessed spirits above, while our lips utter only earthly words. The prayer-book, in other words,

should only be the suggester of prayer; it should form the artificial wings upon which the affections rise, till they reach that sphere in which they are buoyed up without further support, and look on the Sun of Righteousness, and the Eye of Heaven, in a region wherein words need not be uttered.

[When this article was written, it was impossible to foresee how many of the desires expressed in it would be granted by a merciful Providence. Within the few last years, admirable prayer-books have been supplied us, some translations, others compilations, rich with all the devotions approved or recommended by the Church. Excellent translations, too, of the ecclesiastical hymns, and many new canticles, have been published. But, besides these, a great number of smaller prayer-books, for particular seasons, or special devotions, have appeared.

The faithful, too, have now become familiarized with many, then scarcely known, forms of prayer, and objects of piety. Thus the Passion of our adorable Lord has been brought before them by the Stations, the three Hours of His Agony, devotions to the Precious Blood, and the wounds of our Saviour. His tender and loving mercies in the most Holy Sacrament have been commended to the hearts of Catholics by more frequent benedictions, and especially by the forty hours' exposition. Devotion to the B. Mother of God has been greatly increased by rosary confraternities and associations, by the "month of May," and greater observance of her festivals.

We must add, that "missions" and "spiritual exercises," then almost unknown to our faithful, have become almost universal. And surely we shall admit that we have great mercies to be thankful for to God, flowing upon us from the tide of conversion, which has so much contributed to procure these benefits.]

ON

NATIONAL HOLYDAYS.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for May*, 1843.

ON

NATIONAL HOLYDAYS.

1. *A Plea for National Holydays.* By Lord John Manners, M.P.
2. *Tableau des Fêtes Chrétiennes.* Par M. le Vicomte Walsh. Paris, 1837.

We think it must be considered a bad symptom in any body, whether natural or politic, when that which, ordinarily and by others, is taken as sustenance, has to be prescribed as medicine. There must be something sadly out of order in a poor peasant's health, when the physician orders him wine, and not a bitter potion; his stamina must be gone, his constitution undermined, his frame worn out, when what his richer neighbour considers but a common drink, he has to sip by measure, as a cordial and restorative. Nay, even a peasant from Italy or Spain would wonder at such a nostrum ever being proposed; for he has all his life been accustomed to drink it at every meal. In other words, his vineyard produces it for him each year in abundance; and he has no idea of it as a rarity or a prescription. Now just as much would he wonder at the idea, that Church festivals or holydays are in any Christian country prescribed as a cure for moral evils, and require to be made subjects of legislative enactment. Not more naturally does the vine yield its glowing and refreshing clusters, to cheer his bodily sense, than does religion, such as he conceives it,

inspire the feelings which suggest, and determine the occasions which provide, recurring days of sacred festivity, of wholesome relaxation, and of innocent cheerfulness. A religion without festivals is, in fact, an anomaly in the annals of the world. Jew or heathen, Christian or Mohammedan, Scandinavian or Hindoo—no one that ever professed a religion (till Protestantism arose), ever heard, or thought, of a system of religious belief or practice, wherein days more hallowed than the rest, did not, from time to time, break upon the monotony of the year, arouse some peculiar feelings, and bring to mind, either in joy or mourning, some sacred event, or some memorable person, by peculiar rites, and by special commemoration.

Christmas-day and Good-Friday, the alpha and omega, it is true, of all that is written in the Book of Love, the *Ecce venio* and the *Consummatum est* of the divine advent, form the entire sum of festivals in the Anglican Church; the abhorrence and abolition of *two* holydays were, and are, the only step to be descended from her, to reach the low level of Puritanism, on this point. But between these two, and even beyond them, how many mysteries that deserve contemplation, how many acts of mercy and love that call for affectionate remembrance! For, beyond the two boundaries lie, the solemn Annunciation of the Son's Incarnation, and its accomplishment on the one side, and on the other, the Ascension, which crowned the work of redemption, and reopened the gates of heaven. Fortunately for the credit of modern religion, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit occurred upon the Sunday: or we may almost venture to say, they would have been passed over with little love. How many opportunities are thus lost for cultivating the religious affections, and

drawing the heart, from time to time, towards higher aims, and holier desires, than the every-day occupations of life inspire! How great a power has been surrendered of refreshing languid faith, and stirring up the expiring embers of divine love in the souls of men, by this abandonment of so natural and so beautiful an institution! But to look at the matter more religiously, how many means of grace have thus been forfeited! For who can doubt, that as in the Old Law, so likewise in the New, God has his seasons of peculiar mercies; whether such as sackcloth and ashes, fasting and mourning, bring down, or such as the festive song and spiritual joy of His spouse invite Him to pour out? This feeling, too, is as natural to every religious system (with the exception already made) as that man should exhibit *his* varied feelings at such stated occasions. In fact, the two ideas united, form the basis of the Christian cycle of festivals. This rests, on the one hand, upon the natural and religious conviction that it is man's duty to show his sympathies with the manifestations of God's kindness, whether directly or indirectly bestowed; and on the other, upon the assurance received, that such expression of such feelings is pleasing to God, and draws down new blessings.[a]

The Catholic calendar is, in fact, but the almanack of the "new heavens and the new earth," which the Lord of Mercy hath created for Himself and us. It faithfully represents to the Christian soul, the annual

[a] "Quamvis enim nulla sint tempora, quæ divinis non sint plena muneribus, et semper nobis ad misericordiam Dei, per ipsius gratiam præstetur accessus; nunc tamen omnium mentes majori studio ad spirituales profectus moveri, et ampliori fiducia oportet animari, quando ad universa pietatis officia, illius nos diei, in quo redempti sumus, recursus invitat."—St. Leo, serm. iv. de Quadrag.

course of the "Sun of Righteousness"[b] passing through His cycle of love, to warm and to cheer, to nourish and give growth, to "the planting of His right hand," in the vineyard of His Church. Little for our sakes, and weakly, does He appear, and as though scarcely showing Himself above the horizon, in the bleak winter wherein he begins his giant course,[c] revealing Himself more in infant promise than in Godlike might. Then soon He acquires brightness and strength,[d] to attract the eyes of nations from afar and bring them to His glorious Epiphany. Still lasts the winter, and runs into the promising, but as yet dreary spring, bringing down penitential clouds and tearful dews upon the dry and stubborn land, which stronger influences of fertilizing grace alone render salutary;[e] and the more cheerful season that will follow, begins already to have its harbingers, giving promise of joy,

[b] "Consors paterni luminis
Lux ipse lucis et dies."—Fer. iij. ad Mat.

"Splendor paternæ gloriæ,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis, et fons luminis
Diem dies illuminans."—Fer. ij. ad Laudes.

"En clara vox redarguit
Obscura quæque personans
Procul fugentur somnia,
Ab alto Jesus promicat
* * *
Sidus refulget jam novum
Ut tollat omne noxium."—Hymn for Advent.

[d] "Tu lumen et splendor Patris."—Hymn for Christmas.

[e] "O Sol salutis, intimis
Jesu refulga mentibus
Dum nocte pulsa gratior
Orbi dies renascitur."—Hymn for Lent.

in the very sorrow which prepares it.[f] A sorrowful eclipse and dark overshadowing of the heavenly luminary will first come, and then the paschal Sun shall shine forth in the fulness of His gladdening radiance, drying up the tears that have flowed,[g] and ripening the seed that hath been scattered as they streamed. And now his beauty and power, far from declining, seem rather to grow, as festival after festival unfolds the increasing glories of Him whom we have thus figuratively described, till He attains His zenith, by ascending to the right hand of His Father, there culminating above things heavenly as earthly,[h] and shedding down holy and sublime energies upon man, through His descending Spirit, at Whitsuntide,[i] and through the mystery of love on the feast of His body.[k] From this

[f] "Dies venit, dies Tua,
In qua reflorent omnia."—Ibid.

[g] "Paschale mundo gaudium
Sol nuntiat formosior,
Cum luce fulgentem nova
Jesum vident apostoli."—Easter Hymn.

[h] "Ascendis orbes siderum,
* * *
Mundi regis qui fabricam
Mundana vincens gaudia."
Hymn for Ascension-day.

[i] "Jam Christus astra ascenderat
Reversus unde venerat
* * *
Sanctum daturus Spiritum.
* * *
De Patris ergo lumine
Decorus ignis almus est."—Hymn for Whit-Sunday.

"Verusque Sol illabere
Micans nitore perpeti;
Jubarque Sancti Spiritus
Infunde nostris sensibus."—Fer. ij. ad Laudes.

[k] Corpus Christi Day.

highest point the outward manifestations of His splendour seem to decline, yet so that His course is marked out to us by representation, at given intervals, of His more terrene glories, in the commemoration of His Transfiguration,[l] in the Exaltation of His Cross,[m] and in the celebration of His title as Redeemer,[n] till we are brought to the close of the sacred year, and begin again the mystical expectation of His Advent.

The extracts, which we have thrown into the margin, will sufficiently illustrate this idea of our blessed Lord's being the unsetting sun and lamp of the city of God, whether earthly or heavenly. Like the visible luminary,[o] His course, though unceasing and unvarying, is thus marked for our observation by certain periods of seeming change, which distinguish both as set on high, "for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years."[p] The one gives to the earth its seed-time and its harvest, its pruning-season and its vintage, its balanced equinoxes and its contrasted solstices, each calling up its emotions of hope or gratefulness, of anxiety or resignation, of public merriment or domestic

[l] "Lux alma, Jesu mentium,
Dum corda nostra recreas,
Culpæ fugas caliginem;
* * *
Tu dulce lumen patriæ
Carnis negatum sensibus,
Splendor paternæ gloriæ."
Hymn for Transfig. (Aug. 6).

[m] "O Crux splendidior cunctis astris!"
Antiph. for Exalt. of the Cross (Sept. 14).

[n] "Jesu voluptas cordium
Et casta lux amantium."
Hymn in festo SS. Redemptoris (Oct. 22).

[o] The Manichees, as St. Augustine tells us, foolishly as wickedly, took the visible sun to be our Lord.

[p] Gen. i. 14.

mirthfulness. The other, too, gives its seasons and its days, its Lents, its Easters, and its Whitsuntides, its Octaves and its Advents, and its special days, that mark the passage of one holy season into another—transitions of feeling, but wherein all is hallowed, all is spiritualized. Bright and glorious break forth over all the earth, those days of marked solemnity, steeping in a flood of brightness, spire and cupola, palace and cottage, city and hamlet. Gloriously streams their radiance through the storied windows of cathedral and abbey church, chapel and chantry; cheeringly steals its mildened ray through the narrow casement of the recluse's cell, and plays joyfully on his crucifix and Madonna, and makes the very skull upon his table seem to smile. Clouds may on that day cover the face of heaven, and thick mists may hide the visible sun; but the joy of a thousand hearts, and the song of a thousand tongues will prove, that there is a source of light and warmth, placed far beyond the reach of such obstructions.

Yet must this glorious Sun dwell in a firmament worthy of His career. He must have His well-divided zodiac, through which to move—that golden zone which girds Him—of saints[q] who "shine like the stars unto all eternity."[r] Nor would it be difficult to allot to each of its twelve divisions the name or sign, whereby it should be known and ruled; seeing that every month of the Christian calendar (save one sorrowful month, which yet has in it the solemn commemoration of Gabriel's announcement of salvation) has presiding in it one or more of those chief saints of

[q] "Beatus quoque Joannes in Apocalypsi vidit Filium hominis præcinctum zona aurea, id est, Sanctorum caterva."—Pontif. Rom. in ordin. Subdiac.

[r] Dan. xii. 3.

the new law, who preached it with the witnessing of their blood—the apostles of the Lamb. For to them St. Paul, and afterwards the Church, applies what is said of those visible heavens, through which the created sun walks his stately course, and which tells the glory of God to all the earth.[s] And each of these bright luminaries is surrounded by others of lesser brightness ("for star differeth from star in glory"[t]); here shining in single brilliancy, like Stephen or Lawrence, there grouped in varied constellations,—mothers martyred with their seven children, captains slaughtered for Christ with their legions, and holy abbots massacred with their communities.[u] Mingled with them are bright and shining lights of holy doctrine and saintly example,[x] that took their place after them, but are scarce less brilliant, filling up the glories of that firmament towards which we are to raise our eyes, and completing its adornment; while myriads of nameless stars, clouds, as they seem, of witnesses—pour themselves out like a milky stream, across the heavenly expanse, leaving no blank or crevice in its golden vault.[y]

Through this glorious and splendid field, He, who "hath set His tabernacle in the sun," goeth forth "as a bridegroom from his bridal chamber," to run. "His going out is from the end of this heaven, and his

[s] "In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum."—Ps. xviii. 1; Rom. x. 18.

[t] 1 Cor. xv. 41.

[u] "Quid igitur per Orionas, nisi Martyres designantur?.....qui ad faciem cœli quasi in hieme venerunt.....Orionas ergo cœlum edidit, cum S. Ecclesia martyres misit."—S. Greg. Mor. lib. ix. c. xi.

[x] "Isti itaque sunt astrorum spiritualium ordines, qui dum summis virtutibus eminent, semper ex supernis lucent."—Ib.

[y] "Quot sunt ergo bona prædicantium, tot sunt ornamenta cœlorum."—Id. Hom. xxx. in Ev.

circuit even to the end thereof."[z] And, ever as He moves, will be seen at His side, when His rays are not so bright as to quench every other splendour, one other star, brilliant as a gem, the morning-star of hope, the evening-star of peace and calm, the load-star of the pilgrim and the mariner, the cynosure of hearts inflamed with the love of the holy and the pure.[a] Throughout His course He imparts, as He passes, celestial influences to these glorious beings, which they benignly shed upon their subject dominions,[b] each on the land, or city, or individual, that owns his ruling sway, when in that happy conjunction. Sometimes the day awakens joy through kingdoms and provinces; gives simultaneous impulse to the swell of every organ; and makes every grey tower through the land to shake with its joyous peal, and lights up every countenance under the same beam of gladness. Or the ray only tips with light the modest spire of some hamlet church, and wakens to secluded festivity the sturdy inhabitants of a sheltered dell, to honour the saint scarce known beyond its precincts, the recluse whose cell gave name to the humble village and its church, or the martyr who there shed his blood, and left his bones to consecrate its altar. Such we believe to be the true idea of the ecclesiastical calendar: it commemorates the mercies of God; sometimes more splendidly manifested in the mysteries of salvation, sometimes more condescendingly in the wonderful virtues of the saints. The same principle sanctions either class of festivals; God alone is worshipped, God alone is supplicated; but we love that the honour

[z] Ps. xviii.

[a] "Ave Maris Stella!" See St. Bernard, Hom. ii. super *Missus est.*

[b] "Thou hast made us to our God a kingdom, and priests, and shall reign on the earth."—Rev. v. 10.

and the prayer should ascend conjointly with the smoke of angelic censors, and with the fragrance of saintly phials.[c] All this feeling is natural to a Catholic, and so to speak, indigenous to Catholic countries; it is only the spontaneous expression of belief in the communion of saints. It leads to the great division of festivities or holydays, a division which, being overlooked by the nobleman who has called public attention to the subject, we deem it necessary now to notice.

The Christian religion confirmed, ennobled, and sanctified every good natural feeling, and consequently, love in all its branches, beginning with the domestic affections, and gradually widening through social and national attachments, to universal philanthropy, or love of kind. But more than this, the Church, in and through which this religion was established, was ordered in perfect charity,[d] in that principle of unity and communion which distinguishes it from every other body, that makes pretension to its privileges. While this *communion* is Catholic or universal, the *intercommunion* whereby it is outwardly manifested, has its degrees or circles, narrower and wider, but each connected with those within, and spreading, as it were, from them by a natural expansion. There must be expression given to these various degrees of love by the religion which hallows them; there must be evidences put forth of this living communion, according to its fitting scale of intensity, by the Church which maintains it. In domestic life, nothing so evinces communion between the members of one family, as their participation in the same feelings, whether of joy, or of sorrow, as their feasting and

[c] Rev. viii. 3; v. 8.

[d] "Ordinavit in me charitatem."—Cant. ii. iv.

their mourning together. The scattered individuals belonging to it will flock from distant parts to a family banquet, at some birthday commemoration, or some domestic festivity; and they will hasten also to pay the last tribute of sorrowful regard to a departed relative.

And in like manner, the Church will have her various degrees of religious intercommunion exhibited by festivals, in which more or fewer join, according to their various rights.

1. She is the Church Catholic; she unites together all her children throughout the world upon certain great and solemn occasions, commemorative of universal benefits, or universal benefactors. Her great feasts are among her most certain and pleasing evidences of the universality of her communion. They prove how the hearts of millions dispersed can beat in unison, and how magnificent must be the sway that can give them a common impulse. One cannot be surprised that the early pontiffs were so intolerant of the Quartodeciman error, which led to variation in the day of observing Easter. It may seem to those who understand not the value of unity, to have been a harsh severity to repress this difference of discipline, coming apparently from so high a source. The admirers of national peculiarities and privileges, in ecclesiastical observances, may even regret such interferences. But the Church knew her real privileges better. She felt that it would never do to allow the most jarring feelings to be dividing her children on such a day,—to have some singing *Alleluja*, while others were crying *Miserere*,—some triumphing with the newly-risen, and others weeping with the expiring, Saviour. Such discordant sounds could not blend as they rose to heaven; and *there* there could be no

mixed festivity: *both* could not have an echo: the twenty-four elders could not divide, and one half attune their harps to a joyful, and the other to a more plaintive, strain. Hence on this point the Church was ever inexorable; she hath no regard to minor proprieties, but looks to unity. By us in one hemisphere, Easter may justly be considered as rightly placed in the opening of the cheerful spring; its joys come with those of nature, its songs with the renewed carolling of birds, and its rich hangings and bright vestments with the new clothing of the trees and fields, beyond the splendour of Solomon in his glory; but to the new churches of the South it falls sorrowfully upon an uncongenial autumn, with searing leaves, and darkening skies, and decay and loss of all natural loveliness. And so, likewise, how many thoughts moving to love, do we find in the winter celebration of Christmas,—the long dreary night, the pinching cold, the sighing wind in Bethlehem's stable, —which must be lost to the Christian beyond the equator, obliged as he is on that day to seek shelter beneath his banana or cocoa-tree from the scorching of a vertical sun. But all this matters not; unity is a consideration far beyond all such secondary proprieties: and they who have not the privilege of looking on those stars, which crowned angels when they announced, "Glory to God and peace to man," must be content to forego such pleasing associations, for the sake of a sublimer and more important end. These great and universal festivals, then, are declarations of religious unity, they are even among the visible bonds and ties, which hold together the vast community of the Church. They are not, it is true, its essential elements,—they form not the stones whereof the goodly pile is built up, nor yet the cement nor the

brazen cramps by which they are held fast together; but they are as finely moulded and richly carved string-courses, that run round the entire edifice, and show unity of design, and while they add grace and beauty, in truth as to the eye, bind compactly together the more solid parts.

And in fact, the belief of the universal Church in the incarnation and divinity of the eternal Word, in His death and resurrection, in the divinity of the Holy Ghost, in the real Presence, in the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, in the intercession of saints, in the glory of the blessed Virgin, and in the efficacy of prayer for the departed faithful, are not more strongly proclaimed to the world by her formularies of faith, than they are by the festivals, which her children everywhere observe, in commemoration of these persons or doctrines. They stir up faith, which otherwise might become forgetful, to the consideration, one by one, and more markedly, of each point; making the whole year a practical symbol of faith, in which consentient profession of particular doctrines is made, by august acts of worship and magnificent offices, throughout the world.

2. While unity of the more Catholic character is thus expressed through the festivals of the universal Church, there is a narrower sphere in which a closer communion exists, between the hierarchical components of what is called a national Church. By this, of course we do not mean independent churches erected by states, but such portions of the universal Church as have a separate metropolitan government, whereof several may, on national or even geographical grounds, be united together. Thus the two archbishops of England, and their suffragans, used to form a division recognised by the rest of the Church,

like to the Gallican or the Spanish Churches. It is manifest that many links would bind together the bishops of such a portion of the Church, distinct from the bonds of Catholic communion — a common origin, one language, national manners and usages, peculiar rites, local traditions; not to mention many other just and reasonable motives of association, arising from political or social circumstances. The sphere of influence of such considerations would be commensurate with that occupied by merely national feelings. It was natural that such religious alliances as were thus formed, should lead to corresponding expressions of feeling, in the language of the Church. If the war-cry of "St. George for England," ringing inspiringly through the English ranks, cheered on our mailed barons to the charge, and nerved the arms of our crossbowmen to speed their shafts, the same watchword excited the pious devotion of peaceful citizens at home, filled all the churches with ardent votaries, thronged the village greens throughout the land with candidates for rustic honours, and united king and people in one prayer for the welfare of their country. And so did the feast of good king Edward, or of the wonder-working Dunstan, or of the glorious St. Thomas, call forth national emotions of gratitude, or admiration, or enthusiastic love, from the people in whose memory their virtues were embalmed. Then, if their feelings found but a faint response, in the less solemn observance of the day across the Channel, or the border, there came in its turn, over either, the song of public jubilee and of national joy, for St. Dennis of France, or St. Andrew of Scotland. Nay, even to such merely national commemorations, other countries would pay homage, by sending their pilgrims in crowds to worship at the favoured shrine.

3. A still closer bond of unity holds fast together a bishop and his diocese. The Cathedral, "the Mother-Church," is the centre of a more intimate communion; from it issue parochial jurisdiction, pastoral admonition, episcopal visitation; there is the throne set of him who holds the apostolic commission to impose hands, and use the weightier keys of God's kingdom, in unlocking its more hidden treasures. Towards it turn all eyes and hearts for direction, in trying moments, in critical circumstances. But in it too are sure to be laid the holy remains of some early bishop or venerable martyr, the special patron of the noble cathedral, and its tributary diocese. Durham had its Cuthbert and its Bede, Lincoln its Hugh, Hereford its Thomas, Beverley its John, Chichester its Richard, — even as now Milan possesses its Ambrose and Charles,—Naples its Januarius, Liege its Lambert, Syracuse its Lucy, Catania its Agatha, and Rome its Peter and Paul. The glories of such men belonged to the See which they had honoured, or to the city which possessed their sacred relics; and their festival was a public holyday to the entire diocese. When it arrived, crowds might be seen streaming from the country round, through the city gateway, and directing their steps towards the noble cathedral; the proportions of which were calculated for such occurrences, and the joyous peal from whose massive tower floated over the highest pinnacle of every secular building. There the shrine of the patron saint, covered with its golden palls and decked with its jewelled emblems, surrounded with blazing tapers and fragrant flowers, received the affectionate devotion of thousands of votaries, whose knees hollowed the pavement, and whose lips wore smooth the marble of the tomb, through ages of enduring

love. And when the venerable bishop, raising his hand at the close of the solemn office, blessed the silent, prostrate crowd, how truly did he feel himself as the father amidst his children, secure of their reverential attachment; the more because of the common devotion which thus collected them in joyful festival.

4. Finally, the parish church, too, had its own peculiar feast-days, its patron saints'-days, the anniversary of its dedication, and perhaps some others of a local interest. It was the expression of that family unity which more intimately existed, as it does in all Catholic countries, between the priest and his people. Those offices of love which none but he can discharge for them, must lead to feelings of a more familiar character. He has baptized them *all*, or at least their children, has instructed their childhood, has listened to their tale of sorrow, and has absolved them in Christ's name; has administered to them the sacred gift; has attended, with kindness and comforting offices, the sick-bed of their friends; and has laid their departed ones, in peace and hope, in the grave. These and a thousand other duties which a Catholic priest discharges for his flock, must knit together their hearts, by love tempered with respect, a love shared by that sacred edifice in which the blessings of his ministry have been ever received, and to which he imparts life and vigour. The parish festival calls forth these feelings to open display; it is the people's own day, it is to *their* Church that the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who can spare a few hours (and in a Catholic country these are many), flock on that day to pray; it is *their* pastor, who takes the lead in the more than usually solemn offices of the Church; it is *their* generosity or industry that

has provided the means of giving peculiar splendour to the festival.

Now, if what we have thus far written be correct, we may pretty safely look for the causes which have destroyed holydays in England, among those which have blighted the feelings that anciently produced, or secured them. Schism broke in two the union of this country with the rest of Christendom; a secular policy has separated all national, from religious, feelings; the decay of discipline, and the rise of commercial and manufacturing cities, have deprived the episcopacy, and its seats, of influence or interest, and dissent has utterly destroyed all parochial unanimity. Then error has overspread the whole; heretical doctrine has poisoned the sources of all spiritual gladness; that belief from which Christian festivals must spring, those hopes towards which they lead, and that charity by which alone they can be nourished. These things would *we* have restored, and the lost holydays would soon revive.

Lord John Manners seems to us to err in reversing this order; he would have the holydays be the means of bringing back extinct good feelings; we would fain consider those days as their expression and their result. It seems, in fact, almost as unreasonable to expect that we should make our soldiers brave, and our generals skilful, and our entire nation warlike, and so gain victories, by ordering a series of illuminations in cities, and bonfires all over the country. People will not rejoice and make merry over nothing, especially when some apparent and present sacrifice is to be made for the purpose; and we have made *our* people in particular so very rational, that they will ask, why they are to give up a day's work, and keep holyday? Now we believe it would be just as sensible

in their eyes to reply to them, that those supposed profane public rejoicings are on account of Blenheim or Agincourt, as to say that the Church festivals, which they are ordered to keep, are in honour of St. George, or St. Edward. We believe that thousands of voices would cry out; "Why should I lose a day's good work and wages, in honour of those persons, whom I know [may we add, and care?] so little about?" The great work to be achieved is the restoration to the people of those ideas and sentiments, which will make such commemorations natural to them, the giving back the soul and spirit, and not mere visible, but inanimate, forms. To go a little more into particulars, let us begin with the narrowest scale on which the attempt might be made to restore the joyful festivity of olden days. It will be easier to induce the inhabitants of one parish to keep festival, than those of a diocese of such dimensions as the English ones now are. The parish church bears the name of some good old Saxon saint, — say St. Oswald or St. Frieswida, or of a more ancient one, as St. Clement or St. George. To learn what must be done in order to establish, not only in outward observance, but in the hearts of the parishioners, the cheerful holiness of their saint's day, we may do as business-like people do in this country, in worldly matters. When a man of this character wishes to *set up* a new apparatus, whether for warming his church or house, or washing, or prison-discipline, he goes to a place, given in reference, where he finds the machinery at work, and sees how it is managed, and how it answers. So we may learn how the restoration of holydays may be made, by seeing how they are kept up, where they actually exist, as once they did among our forefathers.

If you go into a village or town in a Catholic country, you may easily ascertain who is the patron saint that gives a name and festival to the parish church, by simply asking the first dozen children whom you meet in the streets, boys or girls, their Christian names. Among them you will be sure to find one prevailing, which perhaps is new to you, at any rate unusual; and if so, you may conclude, that it belongs to some saint held in especial veneration, either from the church's being dedicated to him, or possessing his relics, or from his being in some way a patron-saint.[e] In other words, you find that name become there "familiar as household words," a part of the family vocabulary in every generation. "Corpora eorum in pace sepulta sunt, *et nomina eorum vivent in æternum.*" The very name is dear to the people, is associated with domestic feelings, is interwoven with many tender thoughts. When the festival returns, it calls to mind the little one that received that name at baptism, and is sleeping in innocence in an early grave, or it is the feast-day of the grey-headed old man, who can no longer go to church, but must have his festival at home, when the rest return from mass; in other words, the parish festival is a family

[e] [Not long after this was written, I had an opportunity of seeing this test applied. Arriving for breakfast at the picturesque town of Carmona in Andalusia, I walked, with the other travellers by the diligence, over the steep hill on which it is situated. A fellow-traveller who knew the place, was our guide, and took us to see the rich church of Our Lady of Grace. On our way, he informed us that there was great devotion to the B. Virgin under that title. "Almost every woman," he remarked, "here bears that name:" that is *Gracias;* for in Spain the particular title given to our Lady, forms the name, as *Dolores, Rosario,* &c. "You will see," he continued, "by asking the first we meet." A little girl was coming along the street, and he addressed her by the name of Gracias, to which she at once replied.]

commemoration as well, and has an echo of joy in every household. But then with the name comes the history. The inhabitants of that village or town, may know very little of profane history; but if they know anything, they know all about their own saint, that is, or can be, known. Every year they hear his panegyric; in every house they have his image or picture, however rude; his palm-branch, or his lily, or his vestment declares what he was, if he have no personal symbol; every child reads in school some account of him suited to a child's capacity, and is taught to look to him as a model and a patron. And if little is known, the very mystery lends a new charm, and allows room for speculation why he has been chosen as the patron; and it is found to have been either because he lived there, or had some way made himself there known, or there had been an immemorial devotion to him; or if everything else fail, it is at least certain that he is a great saint in heaven, a glorious martyr, or a most holy confessor. (Would an English peasant know what these words mean?)

Now, if you go into an English town or village, and probe for your ground to build on, through the superincumbent layer of ignorance and bigotry, by these simple means, we suspect you will find it totally wanting. You will discover multitudes bearing the common every-day names; but if you conjecture a holier reason for them than that an uncle or an aunt, or the parents have first borne them, you will be soon undeceived. And even here you may perhaps detect lurking, the baneful symptoms of dissent, in the very names of the young Ebenezers and Ichabods, whose biblical fathers would prefer the twang of a Hebrew appellation, to the softest sounds

in the Church's calendar. But go on, and if the sexton or schoolmaster can happen to tell you to whom the parish church is dedicated, seek among the people for some information respecting that saint, or for some ideas or feelings regarding him. We are inclined to believe, that though you might find some traditions yet alive about Robin Hood, in the neighbourhood of Needwood, and you might pick up many stories about Dick Turpin in Yorkshire, you would find the people in St. Oswald's parish, or St. Giles's, or St. Ives's, just as interested, or as informed, about these holy persons, as they are about the Hindoo mythology. And how can one hope to make them rejoice and hold festival, in their honour and commemoration?

But how set about removing this obstacle? Their Church has been teaching them for three centuries nothing about the saints, farther than that there is great superstition and peril of idolatry, in performing any act expressive of active communion with them, such as asking their prayers, or trusting in their sympathy or protection. Their clergyman has been lecturing them about the wickedness of the Roman Church, in showing them any honour, as derogatory to higher claims; and has been proving to them the folly of invoking them, by the comfortable doctrine that they cannot hear us or see us, and by implication that they care nothing about us on earth. Who among them ever is taught, that he has a guardian angel ever at his side, watching all his steps; or that he should look on the saint of his name as a heavenly advocate, and address him as such? Who has been told to turn his eyes through the perils of youth, towards the Virgin Mother of his Saviour, as the special patroness of

purity and innocence? And is it to be expected all at once, they will enter with heart into any pr for reviving festivals, in memory of those whom th have been too well taught to regard as aliens and strangers, not to be approached, save by passing over the yawning chasm of Popish idolatry or superstition? Festivals, too, the very ground of which is a belief in the existence of close and affectionate sympathy between the inhabitants of both Jerusalems, and a firm persuasion that they in heaven are pleased with our joy, and return it in blessings obtained for us? Surely the whole teaching of past centuries must be contradicted; the web so artfully woven for generations must be unravelled; the people must be taught to revere what they have despised, to love what they have hated, and consequently to see that they have been, till now, misled, blinded, and deceived, by the very step-mother Church, which now wishes to set them right. How this will be done we are curious to see.

Let us for this purpose have fair and honest courses. If you want to have the feast of any saint revived in his parish or cathedral, let the people know all about him or her. Tell them plainly that St. Hilda was a nun and abbess, and by vowing perpetual virginity, became more pleasing before God and man; that St. Bennet was the founder of the monks whose houses were all suppressed at the godly Reformation, as being hives of lazy drones, and useless members of society, and that he was a truly wonderful saint, to be greatly honoured for that institution; that Venerable Bede said mass in Latin, and held many Catholic doctrines. It will not do to smuggle into the English Church a veneration for saints and holydays in their honour, as if they were some respectable ancient Protestants,

bishops in lawn, or pious ladies who taught poor-schools. Let them be made known as *saints*; and let it be well explained what saints are: bishops who in their day led celibate and mortified lives, distributed the greater part of their revenues to the poor, founded and endowed hospitals, built churches, and resisted oppression of the Church, even unto death: noble and royal dames, who retired from the world into poor convents, and devoted their lives to fasting and prayer, in perpetual chastity, and induced many others of like degree to do the same. And let the people know that such things ceased in England, the moment its people became Protestant, and its clergy called themselves and their separated Church "Anglican;" but continued in "Popish" countries, in men like St. Charles, St. Francis, and St. Alphonsus, and in women like the Princess Louisa, or the late Queen Maria Clotilde of Sardinia, and many others of scarcely inferior rank.

If the whole truth be told to the people on this matter, we feel no doubt that holydays, in honour of saints, would soon revive, because the religion, which can alone restore them, would be re-established. But let us suppose the attempt to be made, without the preparatory feelings being excited: how would the practical restoration be effected? Once more, let us go to Catholic countries. The festal day of a parish or diocese is as firmly established in the calendar, as is any one of the greater feasts. It has its office; its proper Breviary service, probably with special hymns and antiphons, certainly with collect, and lessons appropriate, sanctioned and approved by lawful authority. The day belongs to the festival, if we may so speak, and not the festival to the day. In the English establishment there would be a difficulty in fixing the day, for its meagre calendar does not contain a tenth

portion of the saints to whom old churches are dedicated; and when a day was found, supposing the bishop to approve it, where would its office be got? The dry every-day *ferial* office would have to be used, in which not an appropriate allusion or reference would be made to the cause of festivity. But to proceed. The day, in a Catholic parish, is long established and well known to all—not merely to parishioners, but to neighbours all around. The lord and the peasant equally look forward to it; it is one more tie between them. The former does not grudge the day's work to his dependants, the other does not repine at the loss of his gains: it is as the Sunday, a day calculated in the general balancing of the year's occupation and profit. The poor people will not starve on that day; they will have rather stinted themselves a little beforehand, to honour it with better cheer; nor will charitable doles and largesses be wanting to gladden the destitute, if any there be.

We saw, not long ago, an instance of how completely the village festival unites and gladdens the hearts of all classes. Who that has travelled in fair Italy, remembers not, as a vision of Eden, the shores and islands of the Lago Maggiore? Who that has seen the latter from a distance, has not leaped in the nearest skiff, and tried, though only for a few moments, to visit them, or at least the one which most invites him,—"the beautiful island" as it is justly called? Among those so tempted, were ourselves: and it was as lovely a day for a festival as ever nature gave to southern skies, when we crossed the calm water which separates that charming spot from the main land. The island appears, at first sight, entirely occupied by the princely palace of the Borromeos, with its enchanted gardens. The bold front of the former seems to rise

sheer from the water, and the terrace-walls of the latter even to slant beyond the natural boundary of the land. But at one side, close to the splendid stairs which lead from the lake to the fore-court of the villa, is a splendid esplanade, occupied by poor, but comfortable, fishermen's huts, nestling under the shelter of the lofty edifice, and among them the humble parish church, now about to be beautified by its patron, to which there is access from the palace. No attempt has been made by the noble lords of the island to buy up this patrimony of the poor, for these cottages are their own little property; nor *to plant them out*, as an eyesore, nor to transplant them to the humbler islands around, chiefly occupied by persons of their rank; but they have remained undisturbed for generations, the poor inhabitants holding the same relation to the prince, as their huts do to his palace,—that of humble but independent neighbours, who share his fostering and protecting care, affording the means of pleasing contrasts, and the exercise of reciprocal duties. As we approached the marble landing-place, we observed more than usual stir about it, nor were we slow to understand its cause. An elegant gondola was riding in the water, with its boatmen dressed in the livery of the Borromeos; and, as we ascended the steps, we were met, in frank and gentle greeting, by the young count himself, with his countess and child, besides whom was a large party of ecclesiastics and laymen, who had been partaking of the curate's hospitality. We were made welcome, and desired to call for whatever the house afforded, and invited to inspect it at our leisure. This was hardly necessary; the entire palace and its gardens seemed to belong to the public; every place was thrown open, and in the occupancy of the good priest and his guests, who ranged freely, as we

did ourselves, through the stately gardens and cool grottos of the ground-floor of the palace, perfectly at their ease. It was not the season when noblemen in Italy reside in the country: it was, moreover, a sultry and dusty journey of forty or fifty miles from thence to Milan; but that young nobleman had made it, with his family, expressly for that day. It was the festival of the little parish church, and he considered it his duty not to be absent from it. Who can doubt that this mark of sympathy and religious communion between the noble patron and his poor neighbours, this act of respect to the humble parish-church and its priest, would more firmly attach the people to his family than perhaps more expensive acts of generosity —blankets, through his steward, at Christmas, and an ox, roasted whole, on his coming of age?

However, let us suppose concord so far secured, as that a clergyman in England could have the squire or lord on his side, in endeavouring to bring the people of any extensive parish, to celebrate a new holyday. Due notice is given, the saint's day is named—his to whom the church is dedicated — cessation from work is inculcated; morning and evening service with music, and the communion service, are arranged; and village sports (if inclosure acts have left room for them) announced. If any one rejoices, depend upon it, it will be the publicans—no small a portion of a village or town population; but there will be sufficient that grieve at the notice, to destroy everything like unanimity and cheerful neighbourly enjoyment of such a day. We can easily conceive the fright, the horror, and dismay which would fill the breasts, and disturb the features, of pious ladies and preachers of every sort; nor can we help imagining to ourselves the machinery that would be set to work to spoil the

holyday sport. For we have seen it put in motion in provincial towns, to avert the calamity of a good attendance on any extraordinary Catholic function. First, there would be placards on the walls, and in the shop-windows, of which the leading words, in unusually large letters, would tell to a hasty observer the whole sense:—"CHRISTIANS BEWARE!...POPISH SUPERSTITION ...WORST CORRUPTIONS...PROFANE AMUSEMENTS...GLORIOUS REFORMATION...RESISTED TO THE DEATH." Then the Independents would choose that very day for the ordination or reading in of a new minister; Mr. A. interrogating him as to his call, and Mr. B. of C. reading the ordination prayer. The Methodists would convoke a missionary meeting, in which a Cherokee regenerated minister (known possibly when a savage, as "the Great Wild-goose") will appear in his own native plumage (hired, perhaps, from Mr. Catlin), and address the assembly, and recount the history of his conversion; and the Baptists would convoke another, in which Mr. D., with his wife, and interesting family of little children, will communicate their experience among the heathen: and the ——— auxiliary branch to the ——— District Bible Society would have a special meeting of subscribers; and every other sect would have something or other to exhibit, as fantastic and as profitable as the shows of a fair. More than this we have known to be done, as we have already observed, to disturb a Catholic festival: enough, and more than enough, to destroy all idea of happy communion of religious feeling between the inhabitants of one place; probably enough to divide house against house, and turn to bitterness, even in the heart of a family, what was intended to diffuse the blessings of harmony and peace.

A Catholic festival is an occurrence which puts all

the place in which it is celebrated into good humour, and makes it brimful of cheerfulness. Its meaning, its object, and its demands are perfectly understood by all, and are all of a common interest. Before its day arrives, all whose duty it is, are busy in the work of preparation; but it is like the work of the bee-hive, each does his appointed office, with the punctuality of instinct:—the choir is trained, the church decorated, the altars adorned with all the richness that the place affords; the houses are put into order, wherever the processions are to pass; the confraternities make their various preparations, to appear decorously and prevent confusion; the clergy dispose all things for the more spiritual duties to be discharged, and for the Church-offices, which will well nigh occupy the day; and those who have to look to the more secular part of the festivity will not neglect it.

When the day itself arrives, the Church is ready, with all her boundless stores of spiritual ministrations, calculated, not to deaden, but to raise and quicken, the pulses of religious joy. From the first dawn of day, the doors of the church are open, and open not merely to the winds of heaven, but to the influx of eager faithful, who know that the morning sacrifice will be ready for oblation as soon as they, and that the morning banquet of Christ's children will be as early as the manna in the wilderness. There is no desertion of the holy place "between services," for in fact, the whole morning is occupied by a succession of offices, which leave but few intervals; and even these are well filled up by the silent devotions of many worshippers. Then comes the great and more public function, at which all the clergy attend, and all the faithful assist, with such pomp and circumstances of festivity as the place admits of; and after sufficient

respite, to allow the body its necessary refreshment, the afternoon offices, running probably till late in the evening, succeed, not equally, but proportionately, continuing the holy joy of the happy festival. And thus the more worldly demonstrations of cheerful mirth, which close the day, are not its occupation but its recreation, and come upon minds prepared to enjoy them, with good temper and sober feelings.

But there is one almost necessary part of festive observances, which the Church of England has completely got rid of, as well as of all else that is beautiful in the Church services; and, in her present condition, cannot hope to restore. We mean religious processions. "Behold that solemn procession," exclaims an author, whom it is always a pleasure to quote, "through the aisles of the abbey church of St. Germain! The holy virgins in pure white robes, like very sanctity, bearing bright tapers in their hands; crowds of holy laymen, the noble and the mechanic, side by side, alike humble, alike devout; the saintly students, the venerable clergy, slowly moving along, singing their pensive melody through the dusky space, shedding radiance as they pass along, while all around them lies in deep darkness. O, it is an impressive thing to mark the countenance of each one who glides before you. There are some who walk, rapt like men in sleep, unconscious of all around them, conversant only with the internal vision, in a rapture of angelic thought. . . . During the ages of faith, the procession was considered an institution of no small importance, in an intellectual and spiritual point of view. Before those mystic flames, which seem to be mingled with the supernal luminaries, — emblems of the star which never sets, — it was thought that the delusive meteors of corrupt passions would die away, and be no more

seen. That pious crowd, still increasing as it proceeded, which passed on, walking in such humble guise after the blessed sacrament, was in sooth a sublime spectacle, as exhibiting to the eye of the world a multitude of men, who sought to follow their ecclesiastical king, hungering and thirsting after him."[f] The Catholic procession is the overflowing of religious joy, beyond the vessel which usually contains it. It is the mystical stream which Ezechiel saw flowing from the altar of the holy place, and issuing abroad, through the temple gates; deepening and swelling, as it flows along, till it becomes a mighty torrent,[g] bounding forward in exultation, and making a joyful noise as the sound of many waters. It is, in fact, the Church herself, who, not content with the fainter radiation of her blessings from their centre, at the shrine and the altar, goes forth to bear them, and to impart them to the abodes and resorts of her children. For, go into the spacious building, when its long ranks of clergy, and crowds of followers, have left it. You saw, but a few minutes before, the vast area covered with men and women, in their holiday attire, all giving abundant signs of life and joy, and the altar surrounded with a goodly array of ministers, vested according to their offices, richly and variously, moving in fragrant clouds of incense, while the atmosphere, up to the echoing vault, was filled with the organ's peal and the choral song. And now you find it solitary and silent, emptied of all that formed its life, the many tapers burning still, and the fading wreaths from the censer subsiding like evening vapours, with none to enjoy the light and fragrance; and all the beauty and charms of the holy building are there, but no worshipper to be enamoured

[f] Mores Catholici, b. v. p. 92. [g] Ezec. xlvii.

of them; and it really seems as though the material church still remained, while the spiritual is gone forth. It is like the beautiful body of a saint entranced, while the soul has flown afar on some errand of love. And so, in fact, it is; you hear, faint and distant, the cadence of the solemn chant, now sweeping fuller upon the wind, as the multitude that has gone forth sings, united, in some ampler space; then dying, and only murmuring through the windings of streets and alleys. It is the Church of God, the rival of heavenly choirs—"almæ Sionis æmula"—that is diffusing blessings through the entire town or village, making its narrow ways the aisles of her vaster temple, the open squares its spreading nave, and the heavens, with their consenting angels, its noble vault. And in place of niches and images inanimate to adorn its walls, see every casement alive with glowing countenances, and tuneful voices; the sick man has had himself brought from his bed to join the festival, now come to his very doors; the aged and helpless matron is supported in the arms of her children, or sits and raises her palsied head at the threshold, to salute the Church's borne treasures; and the very babes exult in their mothers' arms, and stretch forth their little hands in glee, as did John in the womb of Elizabeth, at a similar visit. And now the sounds come swelling and increasing, but wave-like, as the flowing tide, till they strike once more against the roof, and re-echo through the arches; and the bright successive flashes of the torches, as they enter, and the stirring flood of life that spreads over the pavement, and the thronging array that again surrounds the altar, give back the animation, the spirit, the soul, that seemed to have been sundered, for a time, from the visible and material frame, restore

to it utterance, and make it thrill once more with stirring life and sparkling joyousness.

Now what has the Church of England to produce, and send round among her people, in which they can confide, or to which they will turn their looks and hearts, in thankfulness and reverence, or in more solemn worship, as it moves among them? Do they, who would have processions restored in her, imagine that two long files of choristers and clergymen in hoods and scarfs, constitute them, and would rivet, long and often, the devout attention of the people? Or that flaunting banners and antique devices would give a further attraction to them? Surely these things may form a goodly pageant, and meet for the walking-day of a club; but they are not the essentials of a religious function. Where there are ministers and symbols, there must be something higher and better than either, a reality to be ministered unto. The Levites walk forth with their tunics and trumpets, only when the Ark of the Lord moves along, and they are in attendance on it. Has the Church of England then the shrines of ancient saints, which priests may bear reverently in their hands, or on their shoulders, to remind her people that she was (alas! *is* she cannot say) the mother of saints, to awaken in their minds the recollection of bright examples, and to excite their confidence in the intercession of those, with whose sacred remains they are thus associated upon earth? She that hath rifled the tombs of her ancient bishops, hath scattered the ashes of her martyrs to the winds, hath blotted the names of her holy monks from the calendar, and hath cast into oblivion the memory of her saintly virgins? She who cannot count one relic in all her treasuries (revered as such), who reprobates all honour shown to any, and dares

not tell her people to bear them about them? Or can she presume higher, and hope to bear more solemnly about, the Lord Himself of Glory, in His Eucharistic triumph; for such the Catholic procession may, in general, be called? She who, independent of her sacramental losses, which debar her from ever possessing the reality, may not even attempt so to honour its substituted type, in the face of her own melancholy decree against it?[h] She who allows irreverence to any amount in the administration of it, discerning not in it the body of the Lord?[i] No; she has forfeited

[h] Art. xxviii.

[i] It is but a few weeks ago that the *English Churchman* contained a paragraph complaining of the manner in which the communion service was administered in the restored Temple church. It stated that the remaining sacramental bread (considered of course as duly consecrated) was left on the paten on the altar-rails, till everything else was cleared away, when it was taken into the vestry by a man, who carried it in one hand, and a pile of cushions in the other! And yet such irreverence and sacrilege (supposing consecration) brings down no censure upon its doers and abettors, beyond that of a newspaper. *If* the bishop of the diocese believes in the real presence after consecration, the least he could be supposed to do would be to suspend the clergyman, dismiss the cushion-bearer, and take measures for future amendment. In fact, the church ought to be placed under an interdict. Yet because this church has been repaired and restored, and repainted after old models, it is considered quite a demonstration of return to Catholic ideas and feelings. How little they know of Catholic truth who can so judge! Alas! these things are but as the mint and the cummin, while the others, that are neglected, are the weighty things of the law. Look at the ancient canons, prescribing different degrees of penance for the casual spilling of a drop from the chalice. The decree on this head in the canon law is there attributed to Pope St. Pius I., but more probably belongs to Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. (Dec. 3rd, P. De Consec. Dist. ii. cap. xxvii. *Si per negligentiam.*) Where there has been decided negligence, a penance of forty days is enjoined, besides the priest's having to wipe with his tongue the place on which the precious drop has fallen. The rubrics (De Defectibus, x. 12—15) specify most minutely what is

and lost these gifts, part of the Catholic inheritance. The motives which can suggest religious festivity, the means whereby it can be conducted, the objects toward which it may be directed, are all bound up together by that unity which, to be anything worth, must be Catholic, Catholic in the widest sense, as embracing in its universality heaven and earth. Only through that communion of saints, which brings men in the flesh into living association with spiritual beings, can those feelings be stirred up, from which gladsome commemorations of them, or celebration of great mysteries, spring. The vesture of the Church, that is, her variable ritual, sparkles as with gems, some of greater cost and brilliancy, others serving but for embroidery and every-day adornment; but they must seek in vain to fit them on again, and have them shine, who have first rent, and then stripped off her, this her seamless garment. She is as the spring, and scatters flowers along her path, wherever she treads; as the season advances, new and fresh ones rise beneath her feet, flowers of holiness as of loveliness; but it is only the dew of Hermon that can feed them, the dew which only falls where brethren dwell together in unity.[k] The attempt of an English nobleman to revive them, in the national Establishment, reminds us sorrowfully of those little gardens, which children in Germany love to make upon the

to be done in cases of any accident to either consecrated species. St. Charles Borromeo, in consequence of such an accident, abstained for several days from the celebration of the divine mysteries. Surely the conduct of the Catholic Church and of the Anglican cannot indicate anything like identity, or even similarity, of belief, respecting the B. Eucharist. And if only one of them can be allowed to hold the real presence, Solomon's test—not here of maternal, but of filial affection—will easily decide between their respective claims.

[k] Ps. cxxxii.

graves of their departed friends, by studding them over with flowers, plucked from the neighbouring fields. There indeed they had roots and lived; but here they can only look pretty for a time, then fade and die, to point the moral of a comparison between the flower above, and the flower beneath the sod.

So will it be with holydays introduced by act of Parliament, or by private speculation; nay by that Church even which has destroyed every emotion that can suggest them, has quenched the sympathies, and untoned the harmonies, necessary to enliven them, has long disused her people to jocund sounds, and cannot bring back these lost feelings without bitter self-condemnation. Till she is prepared to make this, she must sit under the yoke of her own forging, and weep over the desolation of her own making. She may exhilarate the people by a passing effort; she may throw this, her body of death, into a galvanic spasm, that looks like a gambol of joy; she may mistake convulsive twitches for smiles, and a ghastly glare of the eye for the rekindled flash of life. But dead, heavy, and lumpish will it fall again, so soon as the wires now applied to it are withdrawn; unless advantage is taken of the momentary artificial life, to dart into it once more the living spark—the Catholic soul, which, restoring it to unity and its privileges, will put the garland into its hand, and the canticle into its mouth, and give it place once more among the children of God.

We have said "the desolation of her own making." Truly, "viæ Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem."[1] But who has made them mourn? No foreign invader, no princely oppressor, no plague, nor famine, nor prophet's curse. But it was a part of

[1] Thren. i. 4.

the plan which made her a national Church, which purged her, as she vaunts, from errors, and rendered her more holy and apostolic; so at least speak her bishops and her legislators. It is the designed and well-accomplished scheme of those who pretended to be her fathers in Christ. "Dixerunt in corde suo cognatio eorum simul: quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos Dei a terra."[m] It was a deliberate sin, and that sin must be expiated and repaired. It is in the power of England and its rulers to bring back once more all that is now regretted as lost; but there is only one way. ENGLAND'S FIRST NATIONAL HOLYDAY WILL, AND CAN ONLY BE, THE BRIGHT AND GLORIOUS DAY WHICH SEES HER RESTORED TO THE COMMUNION OF CHRIST'S CHURCH CATHOLIC.

[m] Ps. lxxiii. 8.

ESSAY

ON THE

MINOR RITES

AND

OFFICES OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for August,* 1843.

ESSAY

ON THE

MINOR RITES AND OFFICES.

ART. XI.—*The Manual of Devotion.* By AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, Esq. Derby: 1843.

WHOEVER views, from the outside, any building which Protestant piety, no matter of what class, has raised for purposes of worship, can at once divine the form and arrangement which the interior will exhibit. Whether church or meeting-house, it imports not; whether it be a square brick building, with staircases and gallery-seats staring out of long, round-headed windows, or a stone edifice, that shams aisles along its sides, thrusts out a mean chancel at one end, and pokes up a stunted tower at the other; when you have skimmed over the outer elevation of either, you have planned the inside; you know at once that the inner surface of every wall will run flatly parallel with the external, that the whole body will be crammed with pews or seats, and that a pulpit and communion-table (or a pulpit alone) will stand where you at once see and know that they must stand. This is quite natural. The building must be according to the religion. Monotony in the one must give monotony in the other. Morning prayer and evening prayer, sermon or lecture, are at best but slight variations of the same theme; Sunday service and week-day service

are but trifling modifications of the same type. We are amused, nearly every week, by the gravity of rubrical and liturgical questions raised in Anglican periodicals: what prayers should be said at the *lettern*, and what at the *fald-stool*, what at one side of the communion-table, and what in front of it. To a Catholic, such discussions truly appear like child's play; and we are tempted to think, how the Sacred Congregation of Rites, at Rome, would smile, first to see such matters become newspaper topics, and then to observe the vast importance attached to them. Alas! the mysticism is fled for ever from the congregation of such churches, which alone can give value to these variations in rites; the spiritual symbolism is no longer valued, which only can stamp dignity and meaning on such trifling ceremonials.

But we are forgetting that we have yet a counterpart to draw to what we have represented. Look on the outside of a finished Catholic church, cathedral, collegiate, or parochial, and you will not conjecture, with certainty, what awaits you within. The grand lines will not deceive you. The cross, which the lofty ridges of the towering roofs describe, tells you, at once, of the sublime and awful mystery which is to be there celebrated. But round it, and principally round its noble head,—like the glory with which the Christian painter would ever encircle its prototype,—are clustered other minor buildings, separately and minutely elaborate, richly-chased gems set in the crown, each apparently the choice work of some loving mind, bent upon excelling. And there run forth, and along, secondary appendages, as they seem, of the main building, giving scarce an evidence to the outward beholder of their interior destination and worth. Whence comes all this variety? From the

nature of the worship to be performed within. It is varied, as are all those beautiful appurtenances and secondary portions of the sacred edifice. The offices to be performed in them have suggested them; and those offices group round the great and heavenly liturgy, as those smaller and graceful sanctuaries do round the majestic cross. Here is the chapel of the most Blessed Sacrament, *because* the Catholic Church keeps It with great reverence, and often brings It forth to her infirm or dying children, or sets It aloft, as the Lamb upon His throne, to be worshipped and adored by priests and people. There is the Ladye-chapel, *because* holy Church has especial devotion to the ever-blessed Mother of God, and must have a sort of family chapel, for homely pilgrimage, where the pious people of the congregation may gather at evening, and quietly say their beads, as if in Her society. Here are shrines of saints, in other smaller chapels, because, from time immemorial, their relics or their memories have been much honoured in the place; and to give them proper estimation, and to direct attention, separating them from other objects, though sacred, is the proper way: just as a nobleman will put his masterpiece of art in a rich cabinet by itself. And then you have chantries, where family sepulchres are placed, and commemorations of the departed faithfully made, and where the same devout spirit, which rejoiced with souls in bliss, sympathizes sorrowfully with those in suffering.

But our allegory, or image, is not thus complete. As any one can know and comprehend all the inside of a Protestant house of worship by surveying the outside, and as one cannot really understand and estimate the interior of a true Catholic church without going into it, and ranging round its parts, and, if

he be a stranger, asking their uses; so, likewise, one may become thoroughly acquainted with all the meagre poverty (called by its fautors, simplicity) of every uncatholic worship, without the pain and misfortune of belonging to it, and mingling in it; while, on the other hand, no man need hope ever to know, understand, or value worthily, the richness and fulness of Catholic devotion, in its many beautiful forms, till he have passed into the interior of its divine sanctuary, and have visited, in its spirit, all its separate, but harmonizing, parts. We have, in a former article, spoken of the great liturgical prayers of the Church, though far from becomingly; the little volume, which we owe to the zeal and piety of a layman, of one who from the outside has passed into the inside of the Church, reminds us how much remains to be said of those secondary and minor observances of Catholic devotion, which give her a rich variety, and yet the privilege of being known only by those within. "Omnis gloria ejus Filiæ Regis *ab intus*, in fimbriis aureis, circumamicta varietatibus."

The feeling of the age, we know, is all for simplification, for curtailing, for baring everything to its pure essentials. If a machine that has been originally cumbrous in its complication is reduced to half a dozen wheels, it is reckoned, now-a-days, a great discovery. A gardener is more proud of a tree which, cut down to a few switches, nailed in painful tension to a wall, bears some very choice fruit, than he is of a stately trunk, that tosses its noble head of foliage in the wind. The two great questions of the day are—first, how much of anything (except worldly goods) is absolutely necessary; and then, what is the shortest and cheapest way of getting it. And this is applied to religion;—what are the services essential to be

attended? what is the most simple form of having them? Let us answer: "The Sunday's Mass," and so far will be conceded; but then we shall be told,—"Let it be as shorn of its splendour, as meagre of attendance, and as simple in ceremonial as possible. And so be it with every sacrament and sacramental; let us have all that is absolutely necessary for their efficacy, but suppress all that you can with safety."

It is fortunate, that the men who speak thus have no power over nature, or they would be playing sad pranks with her, and teaching her some very summary ways and short cuts, instead of her very complicated methods and slow progresses. And yet the order of grace presents so many analogies to hers, that we should think it might strike any man, that it is as absurd and as unnatural to tamper with the spiritual, as it would be with the physical, world. Each is, in fact, a world of life; each has living laws, dependent upon a higher power than man's; each refuses to be trammelled by new and arbitrary ones. Take the plant and its life; upon how many small and trifling things it must depend! Try to simplify them, and you will at once destroy it. Shut it up and feed it with an artificial atmosphere, in which the ingredients are purified of all that interferes with their justest proportions, and you will find it sicken. Make a soil for it upon scientific and chemical principles, and ten to one it will, most ungraciously, refuse to grow. And why? Because its principle of life requires many more things than you can seize or even estimate—little, imperceptible, atomic things, which will escape the keenest eye. You know not what it sucks from the dew-drops that sparkle on its leaves at morning, beyond what the pure water from the fountain could give; you know not what healthy element it may inhale from

the very mist which sometimes envelops it; you know not what refreshment it may draw from the hoar-frost that clothes its naked limbs in winter with a mock efflorescence; you know not what degree of enrichment it receives from the grass that decays,—nay, from the insects themselves that die round its foot. The chance admixture of some stray loam, or sand, or other mineral, in the soil wherein it stands, may minister to its living energies a peculiar subsidiary source of sustenance and growth. Now, in a like manner, the spiritual life may be kept up, and made up. The many lesser ministrations of grace, which seem to us minute, and of very secondary importance, have their value and their efficacy in it, which now escape our notice, but may one day appear as they deserve. It may be a pleasing exercise of the new intelligence to be hereafter granted to the soul, for the full understanding of God's mercies, to see how much of its spiritual growth was forwarded, and how much of its fruit matured, by these smaller means; what latent strength was supplied by a blessing casually but respectfully received; what coming blight washed off by the sprinkled waters which the Church had sanctified; what measure of favour gained by an act of thoughtful reverence as we passed before God's altar; what a buffet was given to the evil powers that would have ruined us, by the sign of the cross imprinted seasonably on our foreheads: in fine, how much of our advancement in virtue was owing to our constant and devout employment of what others undervalue, and therefore heed not.

It may be said, that still we allow these things not to be essential; and therefore that there may be, and are, many in the true Church, who belong to the class of persons whom we blame; and are yet no less among its living members: Why, then, should they, or others,

be urged to more? We reply by asking: Are these in general the ornaments, the flowers of the Church? They may be living plants, it is true, but are they rich in spiritual fruit? Are they fair and beautiful to the eye both of the faithful and of the separated? Is it among them that we find the instructors of the ignorant, the comforters of the poor, the endowers of charitable foundations, the propagators of truth? Are they not invariably the cold, the worldly, or the sickly, and the lukewarm Christians? The Church of God has the privilege of beauty and loveliness bestowed upon her; would she possess it, indeed, if she had none but these to show? But, thank God, she has something better—she has souls devout, fervent, zealous, and mortified; she has holy religious, active priests, edifying laymen. Now, those who keep up her noble claims to that prerogative, will be found ever to set the highest value upon the minor observances and rites of the Church—will be found most careful in their use, ever zealous in their defence of them. If then we see, as we always shall, the higher growth in virtue, and the full comeliness of holiness united with these practices, and going hand in hand with their application, should we not cherish rather than undervalue them; increase and encourage, rather than diminish, them; uphold and vindicate, rather than abandon them to obloquy and misrepresentation?

Let us, by way of example, imagine a person who has stepped beyond the frozen zone of Catholicity into its more genial sphere, and has begun to feel its warmth. We speak not of place, but of mind; so that we understand by this, one who has learnt to taste interiorly the abundant consolations of his religion—who goes to the church, not one day in the week, because it is Sunday, but, if possible, every day, be-

cause his Lord is there; who approaches the altar, not at certain stated periods, with long intervals, because custom or law prescribes it, but as often as his own hunger after the food that perisheth not, impels him. A heartless Jansenist will perhaps say, that such frequency will beget familiarity, and this must be jealously guarded against; and we will say, that it is exactly familiarity which we desire to have, and to produce. He will dwell on the epithet "tremendous," prefixed to the holy mysteries, and call out for mere fear; and we will answer, "O sacrum convivium!" He will intone in solemn key the little chapter, "Quicumque manducaverit panem hunc indigne, reus erit Corporis Domini;" and we will reply by the antiphon, in gladder notes, "O quam suavis est Domine Spiritus tuus; qui ut dulcedinem tuam in filios demonstrares, pane suavissimo de cœlo præstito, esurientes reples bonis, fastidiosos divites dimittens inanes." If the Jansenistic reasoning prevails, there is an end to all we wish to say. The "Sacrament of Love" becomes rather that "of Fear;" the banquet is changed into a medicine, the staff into a scourge, the *viaticum* into a heavy load. The poor wayfarer towards warmth and light — the two rays from heaven — is driven back amidst his icebergs again, to shiver and freeze in the cold and gloomy regions of modern semi-protestantism. But let us suppose that he has had courage to face and go by this moody monster, and to get fairly into the genial pastures of the Church Catholic, and to feed fully upon its truths and feelings; he has begun to love that which makes him love, to enjoy that which gives him joy. He will not easily be satisfied, as he used to be. He begins to think that a means of grace is at his command, which he has not sufficiently attended to. Our merciful Lord has been pleased to

institute the noblest and blessedest of His sacraments in a permanent form, which allows one to possess Him, in a marvellous manner, at all times. One may envy the ancient Christians, and almost covet their persecutions, on the condition of being allowed, as they were, to have the Lord an inmate in the house, and rising before day, partake of Him most familiarly. The house of Obededom was indeed but poorly honoured in comparison with theirs. But, even now, if not in our own unworthy dwellings, at least in His own house, we may have Him ever. If we are sick, He comes to us whenever bidden; when we are well, shall we require much pressing to go to Him? Such a thought seems most natural; and whatever is natural to the devout soul, has place, of course, in the Catholic system: for this system is, in fact, the nature of the inward and spiritual world.

No one can go into a Catholic country without seeing at once this idea carried out into practice. Every church that can be considered public, is left open almost all the day; cathedral, collegiate, and parish churches, and often many others. It is considered a matter of right that they should be so. This, to our minds, forms a lamentable contrast between England and those countries—we mean not Protestant England, but what is Catholic of it. For truly, were the churches left open in the former, merely that strangers might more easily gratify their curiosity, by looking through them, we might perhaps indeed plead our poverty, to call it nothing worse, and say, that as we have no pictures or rich marbles to show, we may as well shut up our comparatively poor places of worship. But the case is not so. There are plenty of country churches in France, or Germany, or Italy, which can boast of no attraction for the eye of flesh,

which yet invite the passer-by to enter, and to pray. And many will do so; especially at the calm evening hour, so suitable to that duty. Now, that which attracts them, we possess in our poorest chapels; and if we see them not similarly visited, the fault is in persons, not in things. The same Wisdom hath built a house with us, adorned with the same mystical seven columns; hath spread her table, and calleth aloud from her high citadel on all to enter, to come to her, and to partake. So far there is no difference, then; the difference lies in the obedience to the call. We may throw the blame upon the circumstances in which we live, our country, and times; but it will not do. It must ultimately fall upon ourselves. The feeling is not amongst us which inspires our brethren abroad. It is not necessary that we should trace the matter further, that we should inquire into its hidden or patent causes, that we should specify where the fault more particularly rests. Let us all at once bear it, acknowledge it, and strive to correct. Let us in every way study to make the house of God more loved, its privileges more highly prized, and its treasures more earnestly coveted. If circumstances will not allow us to throw it open indiscriminately all day, let us, at least, make it at all times accessible to the faithful, and let us teach them what comfort they may find there.[a]

The terms which Catholics soon come to apply to religious practices, are no unapt keys to the interpretation of those feelings with which they are to be accompanied. Thus, the familiar expression "*a visit* to the B. Sacrament," so well understood in Catholic

[a] [These complaints have no longer the same justice. Many of our churches are now accessible to the faithful, through the day; and they take advantage of the means of grace thus offered, to nourish their piety before God's altar.]

countries and Catholic communities, contains a depth of faith and of love, which long descriptions could not so adequately convey. It declares at once the simple, hearty, practical belief in the Real Presence; not a vague, surmising opinion, not an uncertain hope that the Lord of glory may be there; but a plain conviction that, as surely as a king dwells in his palace, and may there be found by those who are privileged to enter in; or rather, that as certainly as He Himself dwelt once in a stable, making it His first palace upon earth, and was there "visited" by kings from a distance, and by shepherds from the neighbourhood; that as truly as He abode in the houses of His friends, and was "visited" by Nicodemus for instruction, or by Magdalene for pardon; so really does He now dwell amongst us, in such sort as that we may similarly come before Him, and have recourse to Him in our wants. Nothing short of the liveliest faith in the mystery, could have introduced, or could keep up, this practice. But the term is likewise the offspring and expression of love. It implies a certain intimacy, if one may use so homely a term, with him to whom it is applied. It gets us beyond the dark regions of awe into those of glowing affection; it raises us up above the crouching attitude of Israel's children at the mountain's base; nay, carries us straight through the clouds and lightnings at its side, to the silent radiant summit, where God and man meet face to face, and discourse together as friends are wont to do. Yes; chamber devotion is doubtless good; the still domestic oratory at home, with its little tokens of loving piety hung around,—trophies often from a holier land,—is very composing, soothing, and devout. But the great and generous thoughts of Catholic heroism are conceived, or rather

inspired, at the altar, where the adorable Sacrament reposes; there, depend upon it, in silent prayer, the noble damsel in heart rejects the world and its vanities, and plights her troth to the spouse of her chaste heart; there the young ecclesiastic, bowing in meditation calm and sweet, muses on the triumphs of his schoolmates, over the swords and red-hot pincers of Tonquin, and resolves to share their crown of martyrdom; there, whatever is planned for the Church of God, that requires earnest zeal and persevering energy, is matured and resolved. And there, too, is the heart unburthened of its daily load of sin and sorrow, anxiety and distress, with a fulness of feeling that comes not elsewhere; sacrifices seem easy which, in any other place, would be hard; and the Catholic soon learns to feel and utter those words which are there most applicable: "*Etenim passer invenit sibi domum, et turtur nidum sibi . . . . .altaria Tua, Domine virtutum, Rex meus, et Deus meus.*"[b]

But the idea involved in this form of devotion deserves further development; though we have already in part anticipated our meaning, where we illustrated it, by comparison with circumstances in our Lord's earthly existence. We described Him as visited in His blessed sacrament, even as He was in His dwellings when in the flesh. Now the perfection of true ascetic devotion, at least in its first degree, may be said to consist in drawing us as close as possible to our Divine Master, and enabling us to feel near Him, and with Him, just as we might hope to have done, had we been happily numbered among His friends and familiars. But this idea we shall have a better opportunity of expanding just now; we must pursue our immediate subject to its natural termination.

[b] Ps. lxxxiii. 3, 4.

If the principle of private devotion among Catholics be that of coming, as near as possible, to the feelings in faith and love, of those who lived in our Blessed Redeemer's society upon earth, the great idea and principle of public worship, in the Catholic Church, is to copy, as faithfully as may be permitted, the homage paid to Him and His Father in heaven. With the Church triumphant she is one; and their offices in regard to praise and adoration are the same. Now, if we look up towards that happier sphere, we see the Lamb enthroned to receive eternal and unceasing worship, praise, and benediction. How beautifully has the pencil of Van Eyck transferred this scene to earth, in his splendid picture, at Ghent, of "The Adoration of the Lamb." In it all the tribes of earth, and all estates of men, united in the Catholic Church, are represented as engaged in admiring, in praising, and in worshipping the Lamb, that was slain from the foundation of the world. And this universality of homage only requires perpetuity, an unceasing perpetuity, to make it a counterpart to the scenes which opened upon John at Patmos. In the Catholic system this could not be wanting. The Church would not be content with opening her sanctuaries all day, to such chance worshippers as devotion might lead to them, even though she might know that no hour or minute would elapse during which some one or other, in her vast dominions, would not be engaged in such exercise of prayer. She would not even leave this duty of perennial homage to those communities, who, distributing the day and night into various portions, some at one hour, some at another, no doubt fill up the entire space with holy services. Through every season, and through every day, she would have, ever going on, a direct uninterrupted worship of her

Lord and Saviour, as the adorable victim on His altar-throne.

For this purpose, in large towns, where there are a sufficient number of churches, the entire year is portioned out among them, in spaces of eight-and-forty hours, an interval which has given the name to the devotion of the *Forty hours' Prayer*. No expense is spared, no pains neglected, to make this sacred rite as solemn and as devout as possible. The church is richly adorned with tapestry and hangings, while the daylight is excluded, not so much to give effect to the brilliant illumination round the altar, as to concentrate and direct attention towards that which is upon it, and make It, like the Lamb in heaven, the lamp and sun, the centre of light and glory to the surrounding sanctuary. After a solemn mass, and a procession, the blessed Sacrament is enshrined and enthroned above the altar; at the same moment that, with similar pomp, it is reverently taken down in some other church. Around it is disposed, as it were, a firmament of countless lights, radiating from it, symbolical of the ever-wakeful host of heaven, the spirits of restless life and unfading brightness, that keep watch round the seat of glory above. At the foot of the altar kneel immovable, in silent adoration, the priests of the sanctuary, relieving each other day and night, pouring the prayers of the people, as fragrant odours, before it. But look at the body of the church! No pews, no benches, or other encumbrances are there; but the flood of radiance, from the altar, seems to be poured out upon the marble pavement, and to stream along it to the very door. But not during the day will you see it thus; the whole, except during the hours of repose, is covered with kneeling worshippers. Looking at the

scene, through the eye of memory, comes nearer to the contemplation of a heavenly vision than aught else that we know. It seems to us as though, on these occasions, flesh and blood lost their material grossness, and were spiritualized as they passed the threshold. Softly and noiselessly is the curtain raised, which covers the door, and passed uplifted from hand to hand, in silent courtesy, as a succession of visitors enter in; they who in the street just now were talking so loud, and laughing so merrily, how they steal in, with slow pace and gentle tread, as though afraid to break upon the solemnity of the scene! For before and around them are scattered, without order or arrangement, persons singly or in groups, as they have entered in, all lowly kneeling, all reflecting upon their prayerful countenances the splendour from the altar; and as they pass among them to find place, with what careful and quiet step they thread their way, so as least to disturb those among whom they move; and then drop down upon their knees too, in the first open space, upon the same bare stone floor, princess and peasant, priest and layman, all equal in the immeasurable distance between them and the eternal object of their adoration. In no other time or place is the sublimity of our religion so touchingly felt. No ceremony is going forward in the sanctuary, no sound of song is issuing from the choir, no voice of exhortation proceeds from the pulpit, no prayer is uttered aloud at the altar. There are hundreds there, and yet they are engaged in no congregational act of worship. Each heart and soul is alone in the midst of a multitude; each uttering its own thoughts, each feeling its own grace. Yet are you overpowered, subdued, quelled into a reverential mood, softened into a devotional spirit, forced to meditate, to feel, to

pray. The little children who come in, led by a mother's hand, kneel down by her in silence, as she simply points towards the altar, overawed by the still splendour before them; the very babe seems hushed to quiet reverence on her bosom. The hurried passer-by, who merely looks in, cannot resist the impulse to sink, if only in a momentary genuflection, upon his knee; nay, even the English scoffer, who will face anything else, will not venture to stalk, as elsewhere, up the nave, heedless of others' sacred feelings, but must needs remain under the shelter of the doorway, or steal behind the shadow of the first pillar, if he wishes to look on without partaking. But more forward, or in the recesses of the aisles, how many you will find, who have not merely entered in to pay their passing evening visit, but who have spent their hours in that heavenly presence, where they seem to breathe the pure air of paradise. To them it is, indeed, "the house of God, and the gate of heaven!" It does one's spirit good even to look again upon such hours, through years of distance and miles of space; it recalls to mind emotions deeper and tenderer than we may hope for here; it makes one almost envious of those whose privilege they are. Never shall we forget the first evening that we were admitted to enjoy it. It was, indeed, a sumptuous church, though its rich marbles were draperied over, in one of the fairest cities in Italy.[c] But though we have since seen many more costly and more spacious, it has retained in our memory a charm peculiar to itself, a distinctive character impressed by the solemn circumstances under which we first saw it, an affection and interest, which none other has been able to supplant.

But we must hasten on. As night closes in, will

[c] [Santa Maria della Vigne, at Genoa.]

there not be danger of this worship ceasing? The last visitors have retired, the sacristan is locking the gates, the poor who have the privilege of asking alms at the door have ceased their pious appeals — for it is right that charity should be exercised at such a place; and where should the lame and the blind sit to ask it, rather than at that gate which of all others best deserves, for the time, the title of "the beautiful?" — Still the piety of the faithful is neither exhausted nor fatigued. While equipages are rolling through the streets, conveying the worldly to, and from, places of entertainment, and long after they have ceased their din, there is one carriage, at least, which is busy all night with a better errand; which, at stated hours, may be seen to set down at the church a relay of night watchers, and to take to their homes those of the preceding hour. Pious confraternities devote themselves to this, as well as to other deeds of piety; and carry on the godly work for centuries, night after night, without newspaper advertisements, dinners, or steam excursions.

Why are we precluded from this truly heavenly devotion, this angelic service? Shall it be the old story — "we are not ready for these things — our people don't understand them — we are too poor for such functions;" or — we hesitate again to state the objection — "they are not essentials, they are not necessary, and we can go on, as we have done, without them." Yet, we may boldly say, that if any country under the sun has, more than another, a want of such a devotion, it is ours. Here, where, in three hundred years, more churches have been desecrated, more tabernacles profaned, more altars broken, more impious blasphemies uttered, more sacrileges committed, more perjuries pronounced against the Blessed Eucharist,

than in the entire world else, since the days of Berengarius; here where more consecrated plate, sanctified by the contact of the most precious gifts, stands on the tables and sideboards of princes and nobles, than brought a hand to write judgment in the banqueting-hall of Balthassar; here, where alone denial of this most holy institution has been made a public, a legal, a national, a royal act; here, where this Holiest of Holies has been chosen as the favourite object of the profanest treatment, pierced by the jeer of the scoffer, beaten about in the unholy language of itinerant declaimers, crowned with ignominy from pulpit and platform;—here, surely, if anywhere, should loving hearts conspire to atone and compensate, by holding the heavenly Mystery in perpetual homage, and never allowing one moment to pass, in which adoration, and benediction, and glory, are not openly and solemnly bestowed on It. There is, indeed, in England, one community, and we believe only one, in which the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Eucharist is carried on. There is abroad a religious order devoted exclusively to this holy purpose. But the house of which we speak has obtained the special privilege of uniting it to the rule of St. Benedict; and day and night, some of the sisterhood watch in prayer before the altar. But this does not meet our wants. We should have something more general, more national. It is true that no single town could carry on the devotion as it is abroad, throughout the year; but what is to prevent the entire country combining for the purpose? Could not a sufficient number of churches be found (one hundred and eighty would suffice, and in England there are five hundred),[d] of which the congregations would agree, with assistance

[d] [Now, thank God, six hundred.]

perhaps from their neighbours, to bear the moderate expense necessary for it, and to devote themselves, according to their ability, for eight-and-forty hours to watching and prayer? The distribution of days might then be made, so that the worship should pass over the whole country, returning to different neighbourhoods at stated intervals, so as to satisfy the devotion of the faithful everywhere. If twice the number of congregations would enter into it, the perpetual adoration could go on in two distant places at once, and so on in progression. Uniform rules might be laid down; for, in fact, there is no point on which the sacred Congregation of Rites has been more explicit than on this. And soon should we see the devotion of the faithful towards the sacred mysteries receive a new impulse, and burn up in a brighter flame. We hesitate not to say, that it would shortly become a favourite form of worship; and every one would long for the time when it would return to his own church or chapel, or into his neighbourhood at least. We might then indeed feel that we were trying to do something towards wiping off the long scores of treason and insult run up by our country, and hastening the time of merciful visitation, by propitiating the measure of wrath that yet remains.[e]

[e] [Although this appeal was not responded to, when first made, we may hope, as yet, to see it successful. It is, at any rate, a consolation to have made a beginning by the establishment of the Forty Hours' in London, during Lent. For three years this devotion has been attended with increasing fervour, and with both consolation and profit to every class of the faithful. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it has transformed Lent into a season of spiritual enjoyment, and has made the metropolis, during it, little inferior to a Catholic city, in opportunity for religious improvement. As a further illustration of the text, I take this occasion of adding an extract from the Pastoral, by which this holy practice was introduced into London:—

"As this devotion, called the Forty Hours' Exposition of the

But even if it be not in our power as yet to establish this beautiful devotion amongst us, which we will

Blessed Sacrament, is as yet but little known in this country, we will proceed in a few words to explain it, premising no more of its history than to say, that it was first instituted at Milan in 1534, that it was thence introduced into Rome, through the instrumentality of its great modern apostle the holy St. Philip Neri, and was formally sanctioned by Pope Clement VIII. in 1592, in consequence, as he says, of the troubled state of Christendom, and the sufferings of the Church.[f]

"As a condition of the Incarnation of the Word, an exchange was made, not unequal, between earth and heaven. We gave to it, not only the spirits of the just made perfect, in the glorious choir of Saints who fill the seats of fallen angels, but, in anticipation of the resurrection, one precious instalment of humanity glorified, in Her the spotless, who rules, in the very body, over the hosts of angels, as their queen. But even higher this our flesh has penetrated, yea into the very sanctuary of God's light inaccessible. For in the very midst and centre of that dazzling radiance, towards which blissful spirits bend gazing and adoring, is to be seen the gentle 'likeness of the Son of Man,'[g] in all things resembling us. And in return, heaven has bestowed on earth, not merely communion between us and its happy citizens, but the permanent dwelling of God amongst us, who under the name of the Emmanuel, or 'God with us,' lives ever in the midst of His Church, to be the direct object of our adoration and love.

"And so it comes, Dearly Beloved, that heaven worships now the nature of man indivisibly united with the Godhead, and earth adores the Deity, joined inseparably to our humanity, in the Person of the incarnate Word. Hence is our worship and theirs but one; one in object, one in value, one in sentiment, one, if possible, in form. For so identical, throughout this communion of Saints, is the essence of divine worship, that the very mode of its performance necessarily becomes similar, not to say, one. So that in reading the glorious visions of heaven's sanctuary, thrown open to St. John, it becomes difficult to determine, whether he there beheld counterparts to what the Church had already instituted upon earth, or types which served her, under apostolic guidance, for the framing of her ritual. But

[f] Raccolta di Orazioni, &c. Rome, 1841, p. 181.

[g] Apoc. i. 13.

not easily believe, we cannot give too much encouragement to what, in part, attains the same object, and is

rather would we say that the same divine instinct guided both, and taught angels in heaven, and saints on earth, to adore and to love with the same outward expression. And so the whole forms but one Church and one worship. There is one altar in both, beneath which the slain of Christ rest, and on which the same Victim-Lamb reposes; one censer from which prayer rises fragrant, from minister's to angel's hand; one bench of venerable elders, that sit or fall prostrate in rich array around; one choir, one song, one voice, one heart, one

"In one only respect would these services appear to differ: that theirs is perpetual, uninterrupted, unceasing; that the thrice-repeated 'Holy' echoes ever through those golden vaults, while we, only at brief and distant periods, can unite in formal worship. But even here the Spouse of Christ on earth would not be outdone; and wishful to rival the very deathless and sleepless watchfulness of those eyes, that sparkle all over the Cherubim round the Throne of God,[h] she has instituted at different periods modes of imitating the unfailing worship of heaven. In early ages she taught her religious, in desert and in monastery, to divide themselves into choirs, that day and night kept up the praises of God in uninterrupted psalmody; and in our days (O happy and heavenly thought!) she has instituted this perpetual adoration of the blessed Eucharist, of Him whom in heaven they so worship, with us present as truly as with them. This it is, Dearly Beloved, that we are going to introduce among you.

"But it is not your Saviour, 'as the hidden Manna'[i] of which you partake, that you have here to reverence and love; it is your Lord, your God, triumphant over death for you, yet shrouding from you His overpowering glory, to whom you have to pay your open and solemn homage;—not enshrined in His poor tabernacle, where, because unseen, He is often unhonoured, but enthroned, as in heaven, above His own altar, Lord of His own Sanctuary, centre of all surrounding splendour, challenging, with love, deep adoration. Around Him shall flame the hallowed tapers by whose pure ray the Church symbolizes, however feebly, the bright Spirits that shine around His heavenly throne. At His feet earth shall scatter its choicest flowers, as its graceful tribute to Him that bloomed so fair from Jesse's root.[k] On all sides shall be arrayed whatever of richness and splen-

[h] Apoc. iv. 6. [i] Apoc. ii. 17. [k] Isa. xi. 1.

common to all the church—THE BENEDICTION. Of all the minor rites in the Catholic Church, there is

dour our poverty can collect, to adorn the chosen abode of Him, who hath said: 'the silver is mine and the gold is mine,'[l] and does not disdain any manifestation of our reverence. Hasten then, Dearly Beloved, to bring whatever may be necessary to enrich the solemnity of that happy day, when your Lord, in His kingly progress, shall visit your own temple, saying, 'I will fill *this* house with glory,'[m] and, whether it be splendid or lowly, shall there abide in special state. Give proof to all that come there to visit Him, that you prize, you cherish, you love this privilege which he bestows; and that, like Solomon and the people of Israel, you have 'gladly offered all those things'[n] which are requisite to its becoming, and even splendid, enjoyment. And 'presently the Lord whom you seek, and the Angel of the testament whom you desire, shall come to His temple.'[o]

"Oh! then go forth with joyful hearts to meet and welcome Him; and leave Him not alone, so long as He shall condescend to dwell in the midst of you. From that lofty mercy-seat whereon He hath been placed, from that bright radiance in the midst of which, as a peerless and priceless gem, He hath been set—beauty Himself, essential Light, and matchless Splendour—there go forth on every side, not scorching rays of glory, not burning shafts of might, but a mild and constant flow of holiness and grace, which fills the entire space from roof to pavement, with the very breath and air of heaven. Silent and soft, as wave impelling wave of fragrance, goes forth, and diffuses itself around, that savour of sweetness, that balm of life, that virtue which, emanating from the sacred humanity of Jesus upon earth, healed all diseases.[p] And from the threshold of this, His palace now, no less than His temple, it will pass abroad, and spread itself on all sides, till it reach your dwellings; and, more powerful than that blessing which the Ark of the Covenant (type, whereof you now possess the reality) shed over the house of Obededom,[q] it will impart to them peace and grace, and welfare spiritual and temporal. 'I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts . . . and in this place I will give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts.'[r]

"But now it is that you will practise that angelic worship, lost and

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[l] Aggeus ii. 9.
[m] Ib. 8.
[n] 1 Paral. xxix. 17.
[o] Malachi iii. 1.
[p] Luke viii. 46.
[q] 2 Reg. vi. 12.
[r] Ag. ii. 10.

none more esteemed and loved by devout persons,—none more calculated to inspire true piety, and to

unknown out of the Catholic Church, the worship of pure adoration. For beyond her pale, men may praise God, or address Him, or perform other religious acts, but they cannot know or make that special homage which His presence, as we possess it, inspires; when, without word spoken, or sound uttered, or act performed, the soul sinks prostrate, and annihilates itself before Him, casts all its powers, and gifts, and brightest ornaments, as worthless oblations before His altar, and subjects its entire being, as a victim, to His sole adorable will. When first, then, you approach the place where He is solemnly worshipped, as you humbly bend your knees, and bow your heads, let this deep and silent adoration be your first act. Speak not in words; forget all selfish thoughts; repress even all eager longings of your hearts; and receive the benediction of your mighty Lord in solemn stillness; while you, reputing yourselves but dust and ashes at His feet, a nothingness before Him, tender Him the homage of loyal vassals, humbled as the clay before the potter,[s] as the creature before its God. Then raise up your eyes, those keen eyes of Faith, which, through the veil of sacramental elements, see, as John did, 'in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, one like to the Son of Man;'[t] yea, the adorable Jesus, the king of your souls; and there feast long your sight upon that sacred Humanity, which love hath given Him, and with it kindred and brotherhood, and ties of tenderest affection with you. And now speak to Him, but with outpoured souls, with the unrestrained familiarity of warmest friendship, face to face—no longer with the awful Lord, like Moses or Elias, on Horeb,[u] but with them, and Peter, and John, on Thabor,[x] where you see Him radiant with His own light, but mild and inviting love.

"Pray to Him now for your own salvation and for that of all mankind. Pray for the exaltation of His holy Church, for the happiness and prosperity of its supreme Pastor, our dear and afflicted Pontiff. Pray for the propagation of the true Faith, and the conversion of all in error, and especially of our own dear country. Pray that God will mercifully remove from us the scourges and judgments which we have deserved by our sins, and remember no longer our offences, nor those of our parents, but rather show us mercy, and give to us His good gifts, but principally, His grace, holiness of life, and perseverance in His holy service.

[s] Isa. xxix. 16.
[t] Apoc. i. 13.
[u] Exod. xxxiii. 11; 3 Reg. xix. 11.
[x] Ps. cxxxi. 7.

draw down blessings. We know places where several conversions are attributable to its solemn celebration; and others where not a little has been effected by it, towards exciting a thoroughly Catholic spirit, and keeping fervour alive. Abroad, its hour usually varies with the season. It is made to close the day; when its labours are over, and when the time generally given to exercise and recreation is ending, there are

"And then, oh! never think of rising from before Him, without thanking Him, from your hearts, for this miraculous institution of His power and goodness, this sweetest pledge of His love. Adore Him now again, as the Treasure of your souls, the Food of life, the living Bread that cometh down from heaven, your Consoler, your Strengthener, your surest Hope in life and death. Speak to Him of the kindness, of the self-abasement, of the immense condescension which He here exhibits; of the untiring affection for poor man which He displays, in bearing with so much coldness, ingratitude, and even sacrilege, as this blessed memorial of His death exposes Him to; of the still more incomprehensible excess of love, which makes Him communicate Himself daily to us, frail and sinful creatures, as our food, and thus brings our very hearts and souls into contact with His! And offer Him your humble tribute of reverence and love, in reparation and atonement for those scoffs, contradictions, and blasphemies to which He has long been, and is daily subject in His adorable Sacrament, and nowhere so much as in this unbelieving land.

"But, Dearly Beloved in Christ, confine not your devotion to the time when the opportunity for this heavenly act of most solemn worship shall come to your very doors. Say rather, 'We will go into His tabernacle; we will adore in the place where His feet have stood.'[y] Make this, if possible, a daily devotion throughout the Lent—this daily worship of your divine Saviour, in His blessed Eucharist. Fear not to penetrate where His humbler temples stand in the midst of His poor; let your faith guide you beyond the range of your ordinary occupations, and the beat of worldly recreations, holding that spot to be the most noble, the most sacred, and the most highly privileged for the time, in which He is manifested, to be publicly adored."]

[y] Matt. xvii. 2.

few towns in which the bell of some church or other does not invite those who are returning home, to join in the concluding homage of the day. Nay, so great a favourite is this devotion, that if several churches concur in performing it the same evening, they will arrange so as to satisfy the piety of the people, by enabling them to attend at more than one. And so great is the concourse, and so eager the devotion, that nothing is more common than to see the church full to literal overflowing, and the breadth of the street opposite the open door occupied by a kneeling crowd, who thus receive the evening blessing of the Lord of glory, and make an echo without, to the pealing hymn within. What a soothing, delightful end to a day of toil or of anxiety! How reconciled to its pains does one feel through it; and how prepared for the duties of home does one hasten from it! With us, this service is generally joined to vespers, or afternoon prayers; and whether from the inconvenience of the hour, or from some other cause, is often comparatively scantily attended. Perhaps we have not as yet made our people feel sufficiently the beauty and advantage of the service; perhaps it is not always conducted with sufficient dignity and solemnity to impress them with its importance.[z] But this matter belongs not to us; all that we wish or have a right to do, is to direct attention to the fact, that equal interest is not felt amongst us for this most beautiful act of worship, as we find elsewhere. And our desire, here, as in everything else Catholic, is to excite and keep alive a holy rivalry, that will not allow itself to be outdone, —to make us look, without foolish national pride, upon the advantages which others have, determined to

[z] [These reproaches have no longer to be made. Benediction is now a most decorous, as well as a most favourite, rite.]

copy, and so to gain, them. We must assume the decided attitude of Catholics; we have no longer the plea of persecution; we cannot shelter ourselves under the imaginary rights of a national establishment. We belong to the Church Catholic, the *Orbis terrarum* Church,—unfettered and uncompromised; and our aim should be to assimilate, to harmonize, to be of one spirit as of one faith—of equal fervour and piety, as of equal profession and creed.

As another illustration of the beauties which the Church presents to our admiration in her minor offices, we may take the subject of the work before us, which has led us to the consideration of this topic. Its purpose is to recommend the devotion so little understood, nay, often so much slighted, even by good people in our country — THE ROSARY. It is intended as a manual, or guide, for those principally who adopt it, in the modified form which the Church has lately approved, of the *Living Rosary*. In this the various mysteries are distributed among different persons, who thus collectively weave together that flowery crown of exquisite devotion, the *chaplet* (sweet old name, which we would gladly see revived!), that decks at once the divine Son and the Virgin-Mother.

"Digna Parens Puero, digne Parente Puer!"

For a full explanation of this holy exercise, and for an account of its origin, its advantages, and prerogatives, we will simply refer our readers to the work itself. It will amply repay them; and they will find, in the meditations proposed to facilitate the practice of contemplation (which forms an essential portion of the Rosary), much tenderness of feeling and liveliness of thought, that will be at once edifying and improving to them.

Ours is perhaps a drier task, more barren and didactic,—to explain the theory of the devotion itself, and so remove some prejudices which we know exist against it. And perhaps the season at which we publish this may not be inappropriate for the purpose.

We have already observed, that a great principle of Catholic devotion is the endeavouring to feel as we should have done amidst the scenes which excite it. The Church in her public offices suggests this idea; she takes us successively to all the great events in the history of our redemption, puts us vividly into them, presents us to the actors, and instils into us their feelings. We need not enter further into this view; because it is probably not new to any of our readers, and it belongs rather to another subject. But we may observe, that the grand charm, nay, the essential power of St. Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* — that treasure of spirituality, that storehouse of devotion, that none can rival—consists in the vivid apprehension of the mysteries of God, which the very senses are made, in some sort, to serve. We are told by Goethe that he trained himself to look at objects with the eye of the great artists; so that in a group he could discern what characteristics Raffaelle, or Guercino, or Michael Angelo, would respectively have seized; and a landscape he would contemplate accordingly as Claude, or Salvator Rosa, or Poussin would have done, each drawing from it a different picture, though all true representations. And so surely, if one wish to contemplate the tender scene of our Lord's nativity, one would gaze upon it through the eyes of those poor but happy shepherds who witnessed it, and try to feel and adore, humbly and lovingly, as they must have done; or one may approach it in the train of the eastern kings, and, with more distant veneration, offer

up such gifts as God has granted us. Again, if we go up, in devotion, to Calvary, we may place ourselves in many different positions and aspects: we may look upon THE CROSS from the gibbet of the penitent thief, and take comfort from words spoken towards it; or we may think of Magdalene, and gaze through her tearful eyes, and feel love, not unmixed with remorse, and perhaps with indignation, too, against the authors of all this woe (alas! ourselves); or we may stand, with John, love predominating over every passion, noting diligently, with the evangelical eagle's ken, every minute detail of sorrow, and every marvellous mystery of charity. And after the glad third day, when HE is risen again, we may find many ways of taking part in so joyful an event: it may be shame and sorrow-stricken, like poor Peter, or with spouse-like eagerness, as Mary addressed the supposed gardener. But surely there is One, who had a share in these and all other such scenes, through whose eyes we should all be glad to view them, in whose heart we should long to feel them. If in the reflection upon another's soul we wish to view the occurrences — joyful, dolorous, or triumphant — through which mercy and glory were purchased for us, there is one "Mirror of Justice," bright, spotless, untarnished, which reflects them in their full clearness and truth. Shall we not strive to look upon it? If these events called up feelings in every spectator, in one breast alone they found depth, and breadth, and strength enough to do them full justice. Shall we not watch and study its heavings and powerful throes? The maternal heart alone could contain the ocean of bitterness, or the heaven of joy, which these various mysteries were fitted to create. And hence the natural desire of loving souls to be its associate, and to stand with its venerable possessor in

sight of all that She saw, in hearing of all that She heard, in observance of all that She laid up in her heart.

Juxta { stramen / Crucem } tecum stare,
Et me tibi sociare
In { fœno / planctu } desidero.[a]

Now this is, to our minds, exactly the object and practice of the Rosary. The history of our divine Saviour's life may justly be divided into four periods. The first comprises His blessed birth and childhood—bright and joyful days, no doubt, in spite of the sorrows and trials that mingled with them. The second includes the three years of His public mission. The third is short indeed, but full of mighty events, and crowded with awful, yet most affectionate recollections; it occupies but one day—a day of sadness and gloom, but a day in which more was done for man than had been accomplished in four thousand preceding years; *the* day, for which those thousands had run—of renovation of all nature, more wonderful than that of its first creation. Finally, the fourth is the glorious period which commenced at the Resurrection, and is continuing now, and will continue without end. Of these four periods, unquestionably, there is not one which is not overflowing both with instruction and with appeals to our affection. But it is clear that the second is more especially devoted to the first, the other three mainly to the last. A triple plea of love is addressed to us by them, a plea which no heart that meditates on them can resist. Now, it is during these especially that we ever have a witness present, who can, better than any one, convey to us the becoming feelings wherewith *we* should strive to contemplate them:

[a] "Stabat Mater gaudiosa," and "Stabat Mater dolorosa."

perhaps of our Lord's public life an apostle is the best evidence, on whose mind the wonderful teaching of the Mount opened gradually, unfolding mysteries never before heard, or whose amazed senses saw the first awakening to consciousness of the rising *dead*, and the glad bound of the released cripple, and the kindling glow of the cured blind man's countenance. Or we may go into the hearts of those so benefited, and, spiritually applying their case to our own, try to imitate their sentiments. But while a Mother watches over the birthplace of Jesus, or follows His patient footsteps through torments to death, or exults in the triumphs which ensue, no inferior companionship, no smaller measure of feeling, no lower standard of appreciation will be preferred.

This is, then, the devotion which the Church of God proposes to us in the Rosary; the contemplation of the mysteries of this threefold portion of our Redeemer's life, in connection and sympathy with His loving Mother's feelings in each. It is essentially directed to Him; being, in fact, the noblest and perfectest mode of meditating on Him. There is still another view of it, which, it strikes us, will facilitate and endear its practice to many; and therefore we will venture to unfold it.

The Church realizes to the utmost the communion of saints, by making the intercourse between earth and heaven as vivid as possible. The exclamations of the old Christians at the martyrs' tombs were as bold and direct, as though they had been addressing the confessors in prison. And the Fathers represent them to their hearers, as though present to them, defending their cities from visible enemies, and actively interesting themselves in their welfare. It is only doing in their regard what she wishes to make us do,

towards their Head and Lord — give the greatest possible reality to her belief concerning them. She existed in the small apostolic college, and the handful of disciples who enjoyed our Lord's society on earth; the pious women from Galilee, and the few, like Joseph of Arimathea, formed her laity, as the others did her clergy. She increased in multitudes, but she strove to alter not in feeling. What the apostles felt towards their Master they continued, no doubt, to feel after He was ascended—the same veneration, the same love, the same trustfulness, the same desire to imitate Him. And these feelings they would leave as a legacy to their successors; who, in their turn, would continue to *them*, after they had sealed their testimony, similar attachment, similar respect. Could Polycarp fail, to the end of his days, communing spiritually with the beloved disciple John, by passing again and again, in holy meditation, over the many happy hours during which he had heard him recount every incident witnessed by him in his Saviour's life, and listened to the fervent accents of charity in which they were related? The same kind of communion, only more exalted, and more deeply respectful, we way easily suppose to have been kept up by those who enjoyed in life the familiarity of our blessed Lady.

It has often struck us, that many who, in latter times, have not scrupled to use the coldest, and even disrespectful, language respecting her, would shrink from the idea of acting similarly towards her, had they lived in her day, and had her near. When, particularly, we have heard the indignation of fancied zeal break from female lips against any respect being paid, or devotion expressed towards her who is the peerless glory, the matchless jewel of her sex, we have been led to think, how differently the heart that

gave the tongue such utterance would have felt, had its compassion been claimed by the venerable matron, whose bereavement of the best of sons had been caused for its sake. Many who can speak unkindly of her in heaven, would have melted into compassion over her on earth; would have kissed with deep reverential awe the hand that had lifted from the ground and received into a maternal embrace the same sacred body, just born and just dead — the infant and the corpse; and would have deemed it a privilege inestimable, if granted them, to listen, low upon the ground, to her many tales of joy and sorrow, —glowing in her delight, and softening in her grief, and exulting in her triumph. That some holy souls partook of such happiness, no one can doubt. During the years that she survived her Son, she conversed with His and her friends, an object surely of affectionate regard and deep veneration. And of what would she discourse so willingly and so well, as of Him of whom her breast was ever full? Or, how would they express their love better than by making Him their theme? How easily does the imagination depict the scene of some faithful follower, like Luke, anxious to have accurate knowledge of all things from the beginning, making inquiries concerning the earlier periods of our Lord's life; and then listening to the marvellous history most sweetly told; — how fair and reverent the Archangel came, and how her heart fluttered when she heard his salutation, and how her soul overflowed with consciousness of unheard of grace, as she accepted his errand; how wonderfully Elizabeth greeted her, and how their infants mysteriously rejoiced in mutual recognition; how that cold December night was warmed and brightened by the first appearance of her godlike child, and her breast

enraptured with heavenly delights, as He thence drew His first earthly nourishment; how holy Simeon proclaimed His dignity, and showed Him honour in the temple; and how her three days' tears were dried up, when she found her lost Son, sitting mild, and radiant with celestial wisdom, amidst the old men of the law. What looks, what emotions accompany the recital! With what breathless respect is it drunk in by the future evangelist! Or, we may fancy John more privileged to tread upon that tenderer ground, on which both have walked together,—the path of the cross, on some sad anniversary, dwelling with her upon each afflicting event, recalling faithfully every sacred word, till she voluntarily felt over again the sword of grief which had pierced her soul. And then would not change the theme, and pass over to the bright Sunday morning, which saw him rise from the grave to comfort the sharers of His sufferings, and to how He mounted before them all to His proper seat, at the Father's right hand, and thence sent down His holy Spirit on them? And who would now restrain her thoughts from following Him in spirit thither, and casting up a wistful glance towards the resting-place for which she longed, in which she saw Him, her sovereign love, prepared to receive and crown her, when the fulness of her time shall be complete, and the perfection of her patience manifested?

Now, a contemplative mind, deeply, affectionately contemplative, not envying, but striving to copy, those who had such singular happiness as we have described, will find in the holy Rosary the opportunity of most nearly approaching it. Looking at the Blessed Mother of God as only removed in place, not in affection,—changed in situation, not in heart,—he will love to entertain himself with her, as he would then

have done; will fix his eye on her, as he discourses with her, in a devout salutation and prayer, upon each of those mysteries, successively, in which she had such an interest. Instead of the barren and distracting form of prayer, which some complain they find *it*, they will thus discover in it that mine of spiritual riches, and that sweetness of consolation which we know all those saints have found in it, who have been particularly distinguished for their piety and devotion towards the life and death of the Son of God, as well as towards his loving Mother.

We may be asked,—is this what may be called the *popular* understanding of this devotion, and is it thus that the poor in Catholic countries practise it? We answer, — it is, as far as their capacity goes. They know that each decade in the rosary has reference to a particular mystery, and their catechism has taught them exactly to know them all; and whenever the rosary is recited in common, the contemplation of each is expressly suggested. And this advertence is necessary to gain the indulgences granted to the devotion. They direct, therefore, their attention to the proper mystery, and say their prayers in its honour; this is sufficient. Ignorant persons cannot meditate as well as the more instructed; nor do they equally understand the words of prayers, or lessons from scripture read to them. But their good-will and fervour do more than make up for this. Happy should we be, if we could plead the same excuse! What we have wished to do, is to recommend this devotion to those who fancy it insipid and unprofitable; by showing that the most spiritual-minded may find in it much food, wholesome and strengthening food; most sweet and delicious too. But we must likewise add, that we have another ground for loving

this devotion, and encouraging all to it, — those even who find it difficult to realize in practice what we have said. It is because it is the devotion of the poor among Catholics, the devotion of the lowly, the ignorant, the afflicted, the humble beadsmen, the *pauperes Christi.* It is with theirs that we wish *our* prayers to be judged, not with the Pharisees'! We dread the thought of being one day interrogated concerning them, as men of education, men of information, bookmen, that looked down upon the poor pilgrim at the church-door, who could only repeat his *Paters* and *Aves.* We look with fear to being asked, what we drew out of our silver-clasped, velvet-bound prayer-books, that the simple old peasant at the bottom of the church did not get out of her beads, which we despised? Whether we have thence become more earnest, more fervent, more humble, more devout? We like not that sentence of an ancient father, "Surgunt indocti, et rapiunt regnum Dei; et nos cum nostris literis mergimur in profundum." So will we be pleased to be reckoned among the poor, and ask to be held to have prayed with them.

ESSAY

ON THE

MINOR RITES

AND

OFFICES OF THE CHURCH.

PART II.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for June,* 1844.

ESSAY

ON THE

MINOR RITES AND OFFICES.

ART. IX.—1. *The Roman Pontifical for the use of the Laity.* Latin and English. Derby.

2. *Itinerarium Clericorum.* Latin and English. 1844.

IN a former paper we claimed the attention of our readers to matters of a semi-liturgical character, under the title of "Minor Rites and Offices;" and we have been happy to find that our hurried and almost crude suggestions have not been unfruitful. Indications have reached us, from many quarters, of a strong desire to introduce the beautiful devotion which we there described, whereby perpetual adoration is given to our Blessed Redeemer in His sacrament of love. We cannot indeed but hope, after what we have observed, that before long, something systematic and properly sanctioned will be proposed, for carrying what we ventured to suggest into execution. We thus feel encouraged still further to pursue our excursion into this field of ecclesiastical and devotional recreation; wherein, unfettered perhaps by positive duties or injunctions, we are at liberty to ramble where we will, and find delight in objects left somewhat to our choice. Our object, in fact, in treating of such matters, is not to inculcate obligations, but to excite a love and relish (if it be given us to succeed) for practices long sup-

pressed amongst us, by the unnatural and pent-up existence to which we have been doomed, and which, being unessential or unnecessary, will not always revive without an impulse. One thing ever consoles us: the Catholic fire requires but little to light up its flame. It may seem to have fallen low, it may have sunk into the ashes, it may have dwindled to a spark; but even so, one vigorous and generous breath suffices to arouse its fading energies, and make it burn again, as kindly and cheeringly and brightly as before. England is a sufficient proof of this. A few years have seen the revival, not merely of the more solemn religious offices, which the evil times had forced us to suspend or greatly to obscure, but likewise of many lesser observances, which require more than liberty,—taste and relish for such things,—before they can well be followed. It has been with these holy practices as with the ornamental accessories to the essential parts of sacred buildings. We have always preserved the altar; but it was the altar of our captivity, in mourning, in abjection, in un-Catholic plainness, to use no harsher word: we now begin to aim at something more,—at ornament, even at splendour, to our utmost reach.

It is not, therefore, a fastidious, discontented spirit—that craving after more than we have had till now; it is not an innovating, factious love of change—that striving after much till now neglected, and resting not till it is recovered. The Catholic religion aims at universality in every way: it seeks to pervade all space, all life; all bodies and souls; all manner of actions; all seasons and times. Earth and air and sea can feel its power, can be bound by its charms, can hear its voice. It consecrates the mountain-tops by its Lavernas, its Vallombrosas, its St. Bernards; it blesses

the hill-sides by its quiet hermitages and rural chapels; it sanctifies the valley by its noble monasteries and goodly churches; it blesses the fields with its solemn procession and litany-chant, where others "walk the bounds," in merry sport;[a] it dedicates the new house with holy aspersion and priestly blessing, where others will give a house-warming with carouse and dance. The ship that is launched, to see the wonders of God in the deep, is prepared for its perils, not by the bottle of wine broken on its bows, in mockery of "christening" (for so it is called), but by the Church's prayers, recited by her ministers. And may not one think that Venice—the sea-queen—held her dominion by the tenure of her yearly espousals; when the Bucentaur went forth, with prayers and benedictions, to claim prosperity for her noble argosies; when no freight ever returned from the East without a column or a gem, or some rich stuff, or a relic for St. Mark's; when her fleets bore pilgrims and crusaders to the Holy Land, or ransomers of slaves from paynim bondage, or missionary ambassadors to Tartary and China; and waged holy war with the corsair and sea-robber? For in those days, sea as well as land was a province of the Church's vast empire; and if you met a galley in your cruise, it bore a cross or a crescent,—it was Christian or infidel; and if the former, it was proud of its privilege and knew how to assert it. And so likewise the Catholic discoverers of distant lands, where they did not retain their ancient names, showed that they knew their calendar, and felt reverence for holy things, by those names which they gave them — calling them

[a] "And while we walk, good hearty talk
We lads will never lack, sir."
"Beating Bounds," in Songs and Ballads for the People, by the Rev. John Neale.

generally from the saint on whose day they descried or reached the island or promontory, or to whom they felt more particular devotion. Instead of which we have now the map of the world, or at least the chart of ocean, studded with the names of successive first lords of the admiralty, or admirals of the red or blue, names often unpronounceable to foreign navigators, and perhaps no less unpalatable. For the Saints were common favourites, of whom none could be jealous, and whose names all knew and loved.

But Catholicity is no silent worshipper. If man was made gregarious, his prayer must be choral, and earth and sea must fill the air with their sweet concert, and impregnate its entire space with harmonious sounds. And this in two ways. Sometimes the voices of multitudes congregated together in many places will rise together, as in the public offices of the Church at stated times; sometimes the faithful are invited to join, each where he may happen to be found, in common acts of worship. This latter form of combined praise or prayer is perfectly peculiar to Catholic devotion. But first let us say a few words concerning its harbinger or proclaimer—the good church-bell. Of all musical instruments, it is by far the grandest. Solemn or deep, or shrill and clear, or still better with both combined in a choral peal, it is the only instrument whose music can travel on the winds, can heave in noble swells upon the breeze, and can out-bellow the storm. It alone speaks to heaven as to earth, and scatters abroad its sounds, till in the distance they seem to come but by fragments and broken notes. Every other instrument creeps on earth, or sends its sounds skimming over its surface; but this pours it out from above, like the shower or the light, or whatever comes from the higher regions to benefit those below. Indeed

it seems to call out from the middle space which heavenly messengers would occupy, to make proclamation to man; condescending to an inferior sphere, but not wholly deigning to soil themselves with earth: high enough to command, low enough to be understood. The Levite trumpet had something startling and military in it, that spoke of alarms and human passions: every other vocal instrument belongs to the world (excepting, perhaps, the noble organ, too huge and too delicately constructed for out of doors), and associates itself with profane amusement; but the solemn old bell has refused to lend itself to any such purpose, and as it swings to and fro, receiving its impulses from the temple of God below, talks of nothing but sacred things, and now reproves the laggard, and now cheers the sorrowful, and now chides the over-mirthful. But how shall this be done, without articulate utterance? In no wise, certainly; but this we maintain a Catholic bell hath, but not a Protestant one. *This* has really only one sacred or ecclesiastical office to perform, and that is to call to church. It may to a certain extent tell you what for; that is, you may distinguish when a laughing full-swing sort of a peal of all the bells tells you it is Sunday, from when a more solemn knell summons any idle children or people to look at a funeral. But beyond this, we defy you to say what the bell from the church-steeple tells you: whether that it is the birthday of one of the patron's children, or that the squire's horse has won a race, or that *he* has won his election. Nor can you determine by its sound what sort of a feast-day it is. One hears as merry a ring on a Sunday in Lent, or in Passion-tide, as on the most joyful festivity. Nay, perhaps some week-day festival may easily slip over, and the iron tongue never wag.

But, as we said just now, this is very different with a Catholic bell, or ring of bells. It speaks as plain as words to the people. "*Suonare a festa, a doppio,* or *a semi-doppio,*"—"to ring *a festival, a double,* or *a semi-double,*" are terms as definite in the language of the belfry as in that of the vestry; the steeple is as good as the almanack on the subject. The vespers on the preceding day tell you, from the prelude of their chimes, to what class the festival will belong; and in a town with many churches, you may know, from the merry babbling of the little turret, even a small chapel that intends next day to claim priority in devotion, and therefore precedency in rank. Then, too, you know exactly that in such another the holy benediction is about to be given with the Most Blessed Sacrament; yea, even amidst the din and clatter from many others, that are only ringing "good night" at the *Ave Maria.* So that you may learn when and where to turn your thoughts in prayer, and join those whose hymn of adoration drowns the organ's fullest notes. But all the other bells, too, seem to be understood; for you see the heads of many uncovered, as they proceed homeward from walk or work. Here is one of those cases peculiarly Catholic to which we have alluded, where the bell has another use beyond that of "ære ciere viros." It is a signal for prayer, without change of place, or of attitude: of a simultaneous prayer, of a short and most expressive, and most beautiful prayer, —THE ANGELUS.

Whatever we said in our first part respecting the devotion of the Rosary, is fully applicable to this, in some respects, its abridgment. For the prayer which concludes it, begs of God to "pour His grace into our hearts, that we who, through an angel's announcement have known of His Son's *Incarnation,*

may through His *Passion and Cross*, be brought to the *glory* of His *Resurrection*." Here we see the leading mystery of each part of the Rosary, or rather the mystery which gives character to each division, of the infancy joyful, of the passion dolorous, and of the after-life glorious, summarily commemorated. But the rest of the prayer (which we need not describe, as to all Catholics sufficiently familiar) dwells exclusively on the great and fundamental mystery of our Lord's Incarnation, and that in the same manner as in the Rosary, with immediate reference to Her who alone was, of earthly beings, the conscious witness of its being wrought. As everywhere else, so principally here, she cannot be disjoined from her Son, in the contemplation of what He did for us.

That they who cannot "pray always" with the tongue, at least should pray sometimes, seems but consonant to gospel precept. Time was, when the faithful came to the church at the stated canonical hours, and prayed jointly and publicly. But if we have seen this spirit lost, we should at least preserve jealously whatever savour of it yet remains. If the whole day cannot be seasoned with what would preserve it from corruption, let it, at least, be sprinkled occasionally with the salt of prayer. If the mystical number of the sevenfold office cannot be preserved, the no less consecrated and mysterious triad may be easily observed. And such is the *Angelus:* a short, uniform, common, and in some sense, public, but withal, in many respects, a personal and private devotion, within each one's reach, wherever he may be; not likely to interfere with any duty, or to interrupt detrimentally any occupation; yet having its stated hours, so as to constitute it a rite or compendious office of the Church. This view of it, independent of any other

consideration, should make it be cherished and practised by Catholics everywhere. In all communities this is the case. The bell at the appointed hour gives the signal; and upon it, every occupation, be it of study or recreation, is suspended. The solitary student in his cell puts down his pen, and turns to his little domestic memorials of piety, picture or crucifix, and joins his absent brethren in prayer. The professor pauses in his lecture, and kneeling at the head of his class leads the way to their responses: the little knot engaged in cheerful talk or learned disputation, drop their mirth or their cunning instruments of fence, and contend more pleasantly in the verses of that angelic prayer. Nay, even the sport and play of youth and childhood are interrupted, to give a few moments to more serious thoughts. Often have we been edified with this practice as followed in religious houses and places of education; and have admired the ingenuity, if we may so speak, of the Church, in thus securing, at least at certain intervals, the exercise of that duty which cannot be too frequent. But when, further, we consider the object brought before the mind in these few moments, we shall better see the beauty of this daily rite.

There is no mystery, perhaps, in which Grace, not merely in its inward and highest nature, but in its exterior and corporeal form, or in its oral expression, is more admirably and amiably set forth. Yea, and running through all its compound forms of speech, be it gracefulness or graciousness, it is all there. Where has art found a richer vein, a lovelier theme, a fairer rivalry between grace terrestrial and grace celestial, than in the meeting of Mary and Gabriel? From the first dawn of pictorial art, it has been seized upon as one which lent to the pencil the fittest subject for

graceful representation. Around the angel could be thrown all the charms of a heavenly nature, clothed in the human form; a benign yet majestic countenance, a commanding but still a reverential mien, ease and dignity not unmixed with admiration and respect. For in the ancient type of this sacred mystery, we see not a fantastic shape, half-clothed in flying drapery, making a descent on a rolling cloud, or perched on it in an academic attitude, and waving the hand with significant gesture, as if about to make a set speech; but the idea that the angel was in this his errand one of "God's ministers" (*Qui facit ministros suos ignem urentem*), suggests at once that he should appear as such are wont to be clothed on earth. Accordingly, he is almost unfailingly represented in ecclesiastical array, never in that which belongs to the celebration of the most sacred rite, but either in the sacerdotal cope, or the diaconal dalmatic. This conventional attire at once removes the figure from all participation in mere profane or fanciful representations; and expresses the connection between the heavenly, and the earthly, Church. For if the Temple that is above, is shown to us as a counterpart of the visible one on earth; if there be an altar there with its oblation upon it, and the martyred saints of God beneath (Apoc. vi. 9), whether this be type or antitype of ours; it seems most natural and most consistent, to preserve to the utmost the analogy thus once given; and if angels administer at that altar, as priest or deacon does at this (Ib. viii. 3), to make them resemble one another, in their garb, as in their office. And, indeed, if in the old law, heavenly apparitions, whether of angelic, or of still higher, nature, assumed the Levitical attire (Dan. x. 5), we may justly attribute to them now, that of the hierarchy in the law of Grace.

While thus in Christian art, not merely what depended upon the painter's imagination—beautiful lineaments, and graceful movement, but that which was conventional and symbolical, served to give majesty and comeliness to the heavenly portion of the scene; while we may easily conceive, how every effort of feeling and practical skill would be directed to express becomingly the harbinger of grace, the herald of salvation; all this was but subservient to a sublimer and holier representation of her, to whom his errand was addressed.

We may easily conceive the painter, who felt his subject as the old masters did, baffled by what remains. Modern notions would lead to think more of the angel, and less of the angel's queen. How beautifully does the tradition, respecting the picture of the Annunciation, in Florence, contrast with this feeling. The artist had completed the rest of his task, had finished his archangel's head with exquisite feeling, had given to it grace and beauty more than human, had exhausted all his powers; and despaired of giving expression to his conceptions of the holy Virgin, whom the angel was saluting. He knew that he must surpass all that he had done, and produce a countenance more radiant with celestial charms, than even he had given to the angelic messenger. In vain he tried to reach the type of grace which he had framed in his imagination; every effort seemed more abortive, till in sheer hopelessness he gave up the task, and fell, through the weariness of mind, into a slumber. But when he awoke, to his amazement and delight, he found the figure painted, with such dignity and beauty, and in so wonderful a manner, and in so short a time, that no human hand could have achieved it. Hence it came, and has continued, to be considered as an

angel's work. Now, let the reader think what he pleases respecting this legend, it will remain a faithful record of an artist's feelings, at a time when art was the handmaid of religion. It will show how pure, how sublime, was the conception which his mind could form of that virtue, which the angelic salutation set forth, "Hail! full of Grace! the Lord is with thee!" How transcending, not merely earthly, but heavenly beauty in its outward manifestation! Nor was the difficulty only there. The heathen artist had an easy mode of raising his hero or his goddess above humanity, by giving the features an unimpassioned beauty, which seemed incapable of interest in sublunary concerns. But the expression of countenance, which the scene under our consideration required, was very different. To stamp upon the face and attitude the maidenly bashfulness which startles, without loss of dignity, at the unwonted approach of a visitor; the humility which shrinks, without baseness and cowardice, from the proffered dignity; the radiant joy, which receives, without ruffling the serenity of soul, the glad announcement of salvation; to represent a woman superior to an angel, not merely in body, but in soul, unconsciously filled with the richest outpourings of Divine blessing, the handmaid in mind, in dignity the queen, might well have seemed superior to the power of art, even when ennobled by the highest motives, and supported by the holiest inspirations. Who, that has contemplated this subject as represented by the blessed John of Fiesoli, so justly called "the Angelic," has not felt that it requires a saintly mind to enter into the depths of artistic, as well as theological, mystery, involved in this theme?

The same feeling which suggested the propriety of giving every superiority in it to her in whom "the

mystery" was wrought, in place, in character, and in expression, naturally inspired the respective attitudes of the figures; the angel often kneeling as he delivers his message, while the Blessed Virgin is indifferently either seated, or standing, or kneeling in prayer. Protestant minds are sometimes shocked at this relative position; but a Catholic heart seizes its propriety at once. Before the angel's errand is completed, she whom he addresses has become the dwelling of the Incarnate WORD, consubstantial to the FATHER, and true GOD: Him there enshrined he must adore: independent of her superior dignity, well worthy of such reverent salutation. While all that meets the eye in this scene is graceful in the extreme, every other sense seems no less greeted with its corresponding gratification. The flowering lily, which almost invariably springs from an elegant vase in the modest chamber, seems to diffuse a pure fragrance through it, as well as to symbolize the virginal purity of the atmosphere we breathe; and the scroll which waves in the angel's hand, guides the ear to the sounds that proceed from his lips, the gracious salutation of her "full of Grace."

But it is time that we recall ourselves and our readers, from what may seem to be a wandering from our subject. We have wished to show how truly the Mystery selected for a triple daily commemoration in the Church, is the "Mystery of Grace," in all its forms; how it seems to combine, more than any other, earthly comeliness, spiritual beauty, divine excellence; to blend together the human and the angelic, and make a scene which heaven and earth may equally claim, yea, deem worth contending for; wherein every hue and shape, and every sound and accent, every thought and feeling, melts harmoniously into a calm

but living picture of the imagination, on which the mind dwells longingly, and seems to say: "Rorate cœli desuper, et nubes pluant justum." For whatever of grace is visible or sensible, seems, and is, but as nothing, compared with that which is inward and hidden,—with that dew of heaven, which comes "like rain upon the fleece," tempering the breast that clothed, in humanity, the eternal WORD, with grace without paragon or parallel, unlimited, unfathomable. So that, well may the Church, after having made us pass a few moments in lively meditation each day, on so gracious a Mystery, rehearsing minutely its three stages of angelic salutation, of virginal consent, and of Divine operation, conclude by the prayer, "GRATIAM Tuam, quæsumus Domine, mentibus nostris infunde."

Well might the Angelus bell have inscribed upon it, —"Vespere, et mane, et meridie, clamabo et *annuntiabo*,"—(Ps. liv. 18). "At evening, morn, and noon, I will call out, and give the angelic annunciation." For this is truly the order of the ecclesiastical day; and, in southern countries of more Catholic atmosphere, of the civil. With first Vespers comes in the festival; and the *Ave Maria*, with its clattering peal, rings in the new day. We own we like it. We love not the old day to slip away from us, and the new one to steal in, "like a thief in the night," upon our unconscious being, at the hour when ghosts walk, without power to guard ourselves "a negotio perambulante in tenebris;" and when nature, abroad and within us, most awfully personates death. We like the day to die even as a good Christian would wish, with a heaven of mild splendour above, enriched in hue as its close approaches; with golden visions and loved shapes, however fantastically, floating in

clouds around; with whispered prayer, and a cheering passing-bell, and the comfort, that when gloom has overspread all, a new, though unseen, day, has risen to the spirit; that the vigil only has expired, that so the festival-day may break. Then, when we awake once more to sense and consciousness, let the joyful peal arouse us, with the first dawn of day and reason, to commemorate that Mystery which alone has made the day worth living; and greet, with the natural, the spiritual, Sun, the Dayspring from on high that rose on benighted man, and chased away the darkness and the shadow of death wherein he sate. Who does not see and feel the clear analogy? And who will neglect, if it be brought thus to his memory, to shield himself behind the ample measure of this grace, against "the arrow flying in the day," in its sharp and well-aimed temptations. The which, when they have reached their height, and when all the holy dew of morning devotion seems to have well nigh evaporated, we need new succour, and refuge "ab incursu et dæmonio meridiano." At these eventful periods will the Angelus bell call out to us aloud, and make the joyful Annunciation, speaking in angel's words, and angel's tone, to the gladsome, to the anxious, and to the weary, heart; gladsome at morn, anxious at noon, weary at eve. Truly, it was a heavenly thought that suggested the appointment of both time and thing. For what can chime so well with the first of those feelings and its season, as the glorious news that "the Lord's angel" hath brought to earth such tidings as his? what can suit the second better than to speak resignation in Mary's words: "Behold Thy servant or handmaid," "fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum?" what can refresh the third, and cast forward bright rays into the gloom of approaching night, more than

the thought, that God's own Eternal Word dwelleth ever amongst us, our comforter and help? May then the day be not far distant, when at the same holy times, there shall set up from every steeple, such a babbling of well-toned sounds, as may represent the commotion of a believing city, on hearing, for the first time, the announcement of redemption from its Author come within it. There be the grave old men that seriously pronounce, in measured tones, their glad conviction; and there be the joyous little ones that lisp and prattle, and seem to disturb by their shrill din the solemnity of the event. And so shall there be the lordly tenant of the massive square tower on abbey-church or minster, that takes much to move him from his well-poised gravity, but who, when once set a-going, delivers himself of his speech in deep sonorous cadences, which all must hear; and there shall be the puny occupant of the quaint small turret over the cell or chantry, that jerks himself to and fro most briskly, and talks most volubly to every passer by. And if their chimes combine not in harmony, their meaning will join in holy accord, and their mingled music will echo in the depth of every Catholic heart; and the murmured prayer will swell from many lips, and rise to heaven on the choral peal.

But must we wait for the day? Why not make a beginning? In the first place, whenever there *is* a bell on a church or chapel, surely it fulfils not its office, if it remain silent at those stated hours of common devotion. Let us ring boldly, in spite of ignorant inquiries at first; they will lead to knowledge. Let the congregation be taught to understand its summons and reply to them; and first a few, and then many, will join in the delightful prayer which it

suggests. Secondly, where this appurtenance of a church is wanted, let it be procured as speedily as may be, and as tuneful as possible, and let the Bishop —for he alone can do it—be prayed to hallow and anoint it, and then let it be hung up in its watch-tower to ward off evil by its holy warnings. But thirdly, why not go somewhat further? There are many houses and families wherein common duties are regulated, as in communities, by sound of bell. Why should not a voice be given to this domestic herald for better purposes? Why may not the sound of the bell, at stated times, invite to spiritual as well as to corporal refreshment; and at its sound the pen might stop, and the piano-forte pause, and the needle be laid down, while all the family unite in the Angelus; and those who are engaged in more homely duties have a momentary respite, to blend the functions of Mary with those of Martha? Enough, however: we have thrown out the suggestion, and we shall not despair of seeing it cheerfully adopted.

We have had so much to say of the bell and its office, that other holy rites connected with it come to our thoughts. It is like passing from light to shade, to go from the Angelus peal to the funeral toll. Nor are we sure that our readers will be inclined to admit a classification, which places among "minor rites and ceremonies," the solemn function whereby the Church commits to their last home the remains of her children. Our reason for doing so is, that it does not belong to the sacramental or liturgical order; but may we not assign another very good reason for such an arrangement—do we not treat it in England as a rite of *very* minor character? Nothing in fact seems to us more fraught with reproach than this circumstance. There is hardly a point on which the feelings of our people

want Catholicizing, more than on this. Of the thousands that die, how many ever have Catholic burial—in other words *Christian* burial? How many obtain even the poor substitute of a domestic funeral, where a few grains of blessed earth are cast into the shroud, instead of the whole corpse being embalmed in the clay which the first solemn consecration, and the continuous blessings of ages, have made a fitting seed-bed of the resurrection? And of those that are anxious, or whose friends are anxious, that they should have *a good* funeral, how comparatively small is the number who are mainly solicitous about its religious character? How few seem to care whether priest or parson reads a funeral service over them, so that *the thing* is respectable? How few make choice of place, through consideration of holiness? How few trouble themselves about the suffrage of their souls after death?

We ask these questions of course entirely with reference to England. In Ireland it is very different. We know nothing more touching than the piety of the poor Irish for their dead, and their traditionary clinging to the sacred places of rest of their ancestors. It may be true that there have been abuses, which the zeal of the clergy has now pretty well extirpated, in their wakes; there may have been occasionally tumultuous scenes of party conflicts at burials, which afford good materials for writers of Irish romances, fonder of the frailties, than of the virtues, of men. But the long and silent train that will for miles follow the bier, and join in carrying it, despite of modern churchyard and cemetery tempting on the way, to the ruins of some abbey-church, or the green mound on the site of an old chapel; the respectful demeanour of every passer by; the carelessness about manner compared with the solicitude about place; the true Catholic

simplicity of the tombstone inscriptions (still ever running in the old form, "Pray for the soul of A. B."); the care for a full office, and a "month's mind," and an anniversary on the part of the survivors,—these are evidences of a Catholic land, edifying and consoling. But in England it is far otherwise; the funeral arrangements are left to the barbarism of an undertaker, who generally feels about the dead as a salesman does about a beast, valuing him by what he can make of him; whose sole notions of propriety consist in the frippery and trappings of mourning-coach and hearse; in plumes and scarfs, and idle pomp, and hollow parade, never more disgusting than then; and whose idea of Catholic peculiarities extends not beyond the hideous pewter crucifix or the portentous mitre, like a pair of shears, that he displays in his window. Talk to him of the holy water vat and sprinkler, of the processional cross and candlesticks, of the thurible and incense, all prescribed by the Catholic ritual, and tell him these must be prepared, and he will think that you rave, or at least know nothing of the matter. But of gloves, and scarfs, and hatbands, and hoods, in which he places all the sanctity of burial, he knoweth all the mysteries, *i. e.* the profits. In other words, we have learnt from our Protestant neighbours to treat a funeral as a *civil* ceremony,—as a mark of respect to the bodies of our friends, not as a refreshment to their souls. Were the money which is thus foolishly thrown away, put by (as has been lately, and we think most wisely suggested), and applied to religious purposes, a fund would be formed of considerable amount, in a very short time. Let the poor of Christ bear the rich man to his tomb, and bless his memory for the bountiful alms, which, to be such, need not be a tithe of what

would go into the vampire hands of profane and scoffing mutes. Let the humble beadsman, in his guild apparel, drop his prayer into the open tomb, aye and with it a tear of sincere sorrow and love, for the dole that is dispensed to him and his family. Let the brotherhood, in which he was enrolled, meet at evening to chant their vespers and their matins; and on the morrow, return to attend and sing the solemn mass, and then, with torch in hand, stand round the bier while the sublime absolutions are chanted, and follow the remains to the grave. Let this, we say, be done, but all done as it should be, with the genuine pathos of a Catholic ceremonial, and we are sure the living would profit by it as well as the dead, for whose benefit the rite is mainly intended.

For now this brings us to our point. Very few Catholics know what the burial service of the Church is, and very few consequently set a proper value on it. We trust, that when "the Roman Pontifical for the use of the Laity" shall have been published, we shall see it succeeded by a Ritual of the same form; and thus we may hope to see our people gradually familiarized with this, and other, beautiful offices. The difference between the Catholic and the Protestant burial service is very striking in this respect; that the former is truly a great and sublime comprehension of the terrors and the hopes of the Christian's death and appearance before his Judge; the latter is but an instruction and a consolation for survivors; the one is full of deep and earnest pathos, the other is but a formal lesson, which no doubt is very impressive from the circumstances under which it is recited; the one transports the thoughts and feelings beyond the grave, fixes them on the threshold of eternity, and bears them up to a corresponding pitch; while the other keeps us

standing still in this world, looking as spectators at, and taking hope from, another's fate. The one, moreover, verifies the communion of saints, practically establishing interchange of holy offices between the living and the departed; the other pretends to do nothing for them that sleep, but only turns the thoughts to those on earth. How sublime the opening of the Office for the Dead, "Regem cui omnia vivunt, venite adoremus!"—"The King to whom all things live, let us adore!" How appropriate the choice of the Psalms, and how happy their antiphons! How touching the lessons from Job, which, while they describe the sad condition of humanity, of its pains and trials, comfort us for those who have escaped them, and make us long to be dissolved and to be with them in Christ! How beautifully too, the lauds themselves seem to have their naturally cheerful tone veiled over, with a seriousness which tempers them to that just medium of Catholic feeling, distant equally from melancholy and from exultation! We rejoice in them, but it is with a calm and sober joy. And passing over that more important and most sacred portion of a complete funeral service, the Mass of Requiem, with its sublime *Dies Iræ*, and its appropriate suppressions and modifications so suitable to the occasion, how much more capable of inspiring comfort and hope is the hymnal expression of these feelings in the Catholic form, than the sententious and didactic manner in which the Anglican attempts to do it! When the corpse is borne into the church, how encouraging the song wherewith it is greeted! "Subvenite Sancti Dei, occurrite Angeli Domini, suscipientes animam ejus; offerentes eam in conspectu Altissimi. Suscipiat te Christus qui vocavit te; et in sinum Abrahæ Angeli deducant te!" Or again, as

the body is borne to the grave: "In Paradisum deducant te Angeli; in tuo adventu suscipiant te Martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem! Chorus angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam paupere æternam habeas requiem!" One would imagine such anthems must have pealed through the catacombs, when the sacred remains of martyrs and confessors were borne along them towards their tombs; so fully impressed do they seem with consciousness of real sympathy between the earthly, and the heavenly, and the suffering Church. But of the Catholic service, the true advantage and recommendation to the believer are, that it contains the intercession of the Church for him, prayers poured forth in her name on behalf of his soul; whereas, if he permit the Protestant service to be performed over him (at least by choice), it is, in truth, an heretical piece of worship to which he makes himself a party, and at best a mark of civility to his coffin, paid by a gentleman in a surplice. The latter is certainly useless, —but what is the former? We do not see how a Catholic can seriously and conscientiously make up his mind to this unorthodox ministration. We cannot measure the exceeding tenuity of his Catholicity, if on his death-bed he looks back with sorrow on a past life, the irregularities of which he feels are far from atoned for, the duties whereof he knows have been but most imperfectly discharged, the hay and stubble of which he sees must burn awfully before the gold and silver can issue annealed from the furnace; and then coolly orders, that, after his death, his body may be laid in some picturesque cemetery, or some newly-built vault, by hands "which drop not myrrh," that is expiation, into his tomb, and by an office in which certainly God and his holy Angels can have no part.

We cannot understand a belief in, and a wholesome fear of, the scouring, searching flames of God's purifying crucible, compatible with the cold indifference respecting all that the Church teaches, may send dew to temper its scorching heat. But the true Catholic must wish even after death, as in life, to belong to the Church of Christ. He wishes to see his last hours surrounded and defended by her holy succours, by the prayers of her ministers, by the intercessions of her faithful; and, when his soul is gone to the bosom of its Creator, would fain have even the clay which the Waters of the Holy Spirit have purified, the Chrism of Salvation consecrated, and the Bread of Life nourished, in custody of her who has lovingly cared for him when one of her earthly children. He can understand the difference between the two faiths,—the real and the pretended mother,—when the one sums up its last office by the warrant-like declaration: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of His great mercy to take unto Himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground: earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," &c.: and the other begs of God to depute one of His holy Angels to guard over the tomb, and keep custody over its hallowed deposit (in beautiful allusion to our Blessed Redeemer's resurrection), and to preserve its dust from profanation and insult.

It is this Catholic idea which has ever instilled into the true son of the Church, a feeling at variance with stoical indifference, as to place of sepulture. It was the desire of the ancients to be placed in death near the tombs of martyrs whom they had honoured in life; and our Anglo-Saxon kings, more than others, seemed glad to prepare for themselves the enjoyment of a spectacle which St. John Chrysostom describes in such

glowing colours,—the rising of the glorious Apostles SS. Peter and Paul from their tomb on the last day; by choosing for their burial-place the porch of their Basilica. It would seem to them as if some protection would be granted them at that terrible moment, by the holy sharers of the common cemetery, and as if the sacred relics, of those who could raise the dead to life, would communicate the virtue of a happy resurrection of a baser dust that reposed beside them. But how alien from such feelings would the modern cemetery system have appeared, under which a motley heap of persons, bound by no common tie of religious belief, are thrown together,—Christian and infidel; adorer and scoffer of the same God; worshipper and hater of the same altar! How utterly dead the conviction, how extinct the faith, that feels no shudder at being thus laid, as if cut off from all communion of the faithful by death, caring not for the prayer that might be uttered in the Catholic churchyard, over the graves of the sleepers there, or for the sprinkling of the hallowed water on the sod from priestly hand; but only desirous that the pyramid or obelisk over, and the neatness of the shrubs around, the tomb, should attract the notice of the loungers, who go to walk in the pleasant cemetery! There is nothing more wanted, especially in or near large towns, than provision for Catholic burial. The late investigations into this matter have shown, that we are the worst provided of any religious body in England with space for fitting interment; and yet we must upon principle be the people who, of all others, attach meaning, value, and spiritual advantage, to the place of sepulture. It seems, therefore, a positive duty to turn our thoughts seriously to this matter.

A variety of topics crowd themselves upon us, well

worthy of being explained or illustrated. We should like much to speak, for instance, on the work at the head of our article — the *Itinerarium Clericorum*— a beautiful little office for a journey, prescribed to clerks, but not less appropriate for laymen; or of the recommendation of a departing soul, a prayer of exquisite beauty as well as of touching sublimity; or, again, of the many blessings, of a house, or food, or fields, or of water. To these we might add many others, little known and less practised, yet well worthy of being both. But while want of space compels us to pass over them, we do not like leaving our subject, without a few words on one rite; for we know not how else to call it, though a silent one, and, at the same time, a perpetual one. Our readers will hardly guess what we mean; but we allude to the truly Catholic and sound practice, of ever keeping a lamp lighted before the adorable Sacrament. Into the doctrine on this subject we are not going now to enter. We will content ourselves with saying, that whoever will look into this part of the matter, may be not a little startled, by the strong and repeated decrees, which make it clearly matter, not of choice, but of absolute obligation, to keep a lamp burning, day and night, before the place where the blessed Eucharist is reserved. How far absolute inability to comply with these orders may excuse from their observance, *without positive dispensation*, it is not for us to inquire; but of this we feel sure, that nothing short of such a distressing motive can or ought. The pressure of persecution may suspend general laws; and an understanding, explicit or tacit to that effect, will always exist where it is found. But the Church is endued with wonderful elasticity; and upon removal of pressure, however severe, and however prolonged, strives and

struggles to regain her former position and bearing. When, therefore, we have felt or held ourselves excused, on the ground of danger, from observing certain matters of discipline, such as we are treating of, it seems to become a serious subject of inquiry, never to be lost sight of, whether or no the time is come, for resuming the exacter observance of what has been suspended. Nor can the solution be very difficult; for it consists in ascertaining, whether or no the causes have ceased which formed the excuse. Thus, we have not held ourselves bound, for three centuries, to keep a lamp before the Blessed Sacrament, because this would have only pointed It out, and betrayed It, to sacrilegious foes, and brought death on Its ministers and ruin on their harbourers. If so, is this the case now? Will any pursuivant or tipstaff be guided, by the holy lamp before the altar, to accuse us of treason or felony, or to seize and profane the treasure which it honours? Nay, will even a thief be thereby tempted? We know, on the contrary, that such a light has proved a protection from sacrilegious rapine. If then the pleas for exemption have ceased, why has not the exemption?

"Because we are too poor to maintain so heavy an expense." Our first inquiry, upon hearing such a plea, naturally is, have you really, and with practical views, calculated the expense of such an appurtenance of Catholic worship? Are you aware that a few shillings a year would defray it? We believe there is great error prevalent in this matter; and that in truth there are not many places in England, where, if the true spirit and meaning of the discipline were infused, means could not be found to observe it. It is, in fact, one of the most beautiful symbolisms in the Church. This light, ever burning—burning through the dark-

ness, the silence, and the solitude, of night; burning in the glare of the most sunny day, in the most crowded service, most aptly represents the unceasing homage wherewith the Lord of Glory should be greeted in that, His dwelling,—that untiring, unfailing, worship which the heart should pay Him for "mercy, which endureth for ever." That watchful lamp seems to do our duty, and represent our affections, ever glowing, ever bright, in cheerful devotion. It is symbolical too of the ever wakeful homage of the celestial host, who, with unclosing eye and restless tongue, watch and give praise before the shrine, as before the throne, of the Lamb. And it forms, moreover, a just analogy with the enjoined mark of respect in the old law, where the golden candlestick was commanded ever to burn before the entrance of the Holy of Holies. These reflections open to our minds a long train of thoughts in which we would gladly indulge. To do them justice, we should have to go into a subject very agreeable to us, but requiring some development,—the symbolism of Catholic worship in general, and of sacramental actions in particular. While there is much attention now turned to the symbolical arrangement of churches, and to the symbolical forms of their ornaments, there is, we apprehend, some danger of overlooking the far deeper mysticism of functions, ceremonies, and smaller rites. Of this we have abundant proofs in the writings of some late revivers of this species of lore, Anglicans, who seem to think that they have made wonderful discoveries in the symbolism of architecture, but who fall lamentably short of the real depth of mystic knowledge.

For the present, we will take leave of our subject, strongly recommending attention to the last topic on

which we have touched; and hoping that before long the piety of the people will not allow the reservation of the most holy Eucharist to be less honoured than it deserves, but will provide for every place where it is permitted, the most appropriate, significant, and beautiful mark of devotion and love, the lamp unextinguished in the sanctuary, the characteristic of the Catholic altar, the emblem of the day-star that sets not ever — "ille inquam Lucifer qui nescit occasum."[b]

[b] [The wishes, here expressed, have been in a great measure fulfilled. There are few churches comparatively now, in which a burning lamp does not shine before the altar of the most Blessed Sacrament.]

ANCIENT

AND

MODERN CATHOLICITY.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for Dec.* 1843.

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ART. IX.—*A Voice from Rome*, A.D. 1842. London, 1843.

WE should not have thought of noticing this small pamphlet, consisting of letters lately published in the *English Churchman*, were it not that we consider it a type, a representation, of a certain class of views, which we are inclined to treat with respect, though sometimes, we own, it is hard to do so.

In England, we believe we may say, that there are three different systems of ideas of the Catholic Church.

The first is the true one, to which we of course hold with all our souls: that the Church in communion with the Holy See alone represents Catholicity, and that she alone has the prerogative of being the Spouse of the Lamb, and as such "without spot or wrinkle;" that they who would have truth and holiness, must come into her as she is, without haggling or pretending to make terms; or, Donatist-like, holding out, till she may choose to alter or modify herself to their taste.

The second is that peculiarly happy conception of Catholicity which sees all its attributes and characteristics in the Anglican establishment, just such as it is; which would not for the world disturb an atom of existing things, would not think of transforming

the lawn into the cope, or the table into an altar, nor of interfering with the arrangements, domestic, ecclesiastical, or civil, of the clerical body. This is the comfortable theory of public meetings on religious subjects, and of Church societies of all sorts; and may be considered as under the especial patronage of the bench of bishops and other dignitaries. Such phrases as "our truly apostolic Church," "our apostolic branch of the Catholic Church," "our pure and primitive Church," are its tocsins and its watchwords. Far is it from our intention at present to disturb their slumbers, who sleep comfortably on this system. It is to the upholders of the third that we wish principally to address ourselves. This is a sort of middle course, not the old (we trust exploded) *via media* system, but one which would fain have a Church moulded between present Catholicity and present Anglicanism. It considers the tone of the one too high, that of the other too low; and it would lower the one, and screw up the other, till both accorded upon a middle note. To what extent each change should be carried, whether Rome should relax more than England strains, or whether the task should be equally divided, is by no means a settled point. For we suspect, that if those who wish for unity upon this theory were asked, first to settle among themselves the amount of curtailments, modifications, and changes of every sort which would satisfy them on our parts, no two would be found to agree upon the exact line which we must descend to, to meet the alterations in an ascending direction, which they would ask from their own establishment.

And now to our reason for noticing the little work before us. It is the production of one belonging to the last of these classes, and is characteristic of many

persons in it. Its purport is to hold the balance between the evil (as its author deems it) and the good, which Rome presents to a two-years' observer. We have heard lately of several English travellers, engaged in the occupation that has given birth to these pages; of persons who go about—not as formerly, to gaze on the wonders of modern art, and explore and sketch the remains of ancient grandeur; but to pause, pencil in hand, opposite any memorial of rustic piety, or the more devout, than scientific, images on the walls of the Suburra or of Trastevere, and there, to the astonishment of passers-by, note down the rude and simple rhymes inscribed under them; who enter churches and basilicas, not to venerate the memory and relics of apostles and martyrs that repose therein, but to spy about, beside and behind the altars, to detect any lurking tablet that proclaims an indulgence. These memorials are carefully noted down, and published as documentary evidence of the corruptions of the Apostolic Church and See. With such materials our author has filled upwards of thirty pages; while, as a set-off, to show his impartiality, he gives us in half that number, an account of the countless and boundless charities of that city, which is as great in the practice of the third, as it is in the mastery of the first, theological virtue.

Now what is the practical conclusion to which such modes of investigation, and their accompanying course of reasoning, are meant to lead? Clearly this: "Rome *may* be the first and mother Church; she *may* hold all the prerogatives granted to Peter; she *may* have right indisputable to the veneration, the love, nay the obedience, of all men and of all Churches; she *may* be the true and rightful centre of unity, to which all should cleave; she *may* have been the only preserver

of many great doctrines, the only deposit of many holy traditions; she *may* alone have nourished heroic piety, ascetic fervour, virginity, mortification, the spirit of martyrdom; she *may* have exclusively produced down to our times real saints, like St. Charles, or St. Teresa; she *may* unrivalled present the pattern of Christ's Church in its universality and its oneness; all these I concede to her as clearly her right; but so long as the Pope allows these doggrel inscriptions to remain on the walls, and does not recall his concession of those certain indulgences, I, A. B., pronounce that all those claims go for nothing; I set up my judgment against that of the Apostolic Church, and, having settled in my mind that these things are idolatrous, superstitious, &c., I declare that it is better to forego all the privileges of communion with the Church, than yield to her teaching and assurance, that they are not so, or believe myself more likely to mistake and misunderstand than her." Such is the conclusion—shall we say it!—to strain out such gnats of abuses (taking them at their very worst) and justify one's self for swallowing the camel of schism, aye, and with a good hunch of heresy upon it!

But, alas! how easy it is to make for ourselves excuses, when we cling to an error. These, and such other topics, are put forward by many persons, as pleas and reasons for their not joining the communion of the Holy See, as bars to the possibility of the Anglican establishment's being again united to it. Let us therefore come to terms. Let us suppose that His Holiness were to accede to their wishes, and order an abundant application of whitewash to the obnoxious localities, so as to efface every inscription which any of these theological tourists may consider objectionable; were to withdraw every concession of indulgences more ample than they

would approve of, and forbid by stern laws any one to wish his neighbour in salutation, the blessing or prayers of our Redeemer's Mother (for these form one head of accusation); let us, in one word, assume that all the grievances pointed out by the "Voice from Rome," or other such works, were at once redressed—does any one imagine for a moment, that the English Church would at once rush repentant to the arms of her offended Mother, or that the crosier of Canterbury, which assumes to be that of St. Augustine, would be laid at the feet of St. Gregory's namesake and successor? It must be the merest delusion to imagine that these are the obstacles to unity: a thousand prejudices, a thousand passions, a thousand interests, and what is worse than all, but cannot be numerically described—an utter deadness of feeling, an insensibility to the claims or importance of religious unity in those who occupy high places, and a cold political idea of a Church, in her rulers, secular and ecclesiastical; these form obstacles which *no* concession on our part could at present remove. Let those, then, who really desire unity, look for it themselves and for themselves. We would recommend to them the epistle addressed by St. Augustine to a nun, who, being a convert, was so greatly shocked at the disorders which she thought she had found, or even had really found, in the lives of Catholic ecclesiastics, that she was thereby tempted to return to her former schism. Now that great Father does not attempt to deny the truth of her allegations, but strongly exhorts her not to allow these apparent evils to lead her astray to a schismatical communion, in which she could not have salvation. "Si enim de isto sæculo exires separata ab unitate corporis Christi, nihil tibi prodesset servata integritas corporis tui." And further he tells her concerning those whom she felt

inclined to rejoin:—"Ab ea (Ecclesia) vero separati, quamdiu contra illam sentiunt, boni esse non possunt; quia etsi aliquos eorum bonos videtur ostendere quasi laudabilis conversatio, malos eos facit ipsa divisio."[a]

The persons with whom we are dealing, cannot consider these sayings hard from us; for they take great pains to make out our Church to be not only corrupt, but idolatrous, in order to screen themselves from the imputation of schism. We, in return, must deal plainly with them; and they must not be more sensitive than they wish us to be. We know that many people unfortunately adhere to the Anglican system on other grounds, equally untenable, but at least not unjust nor unkind to us, who would not allow the imputations of this class of persons to be valid. With these we are not *at present* dealing; we have in mind those who sit in judgment upon the Church, and rely on their own partial views, for justification of their remaining out of her communion.

However, we feel disposed to treat even them in a more good-natured tone than some of our remarks may seem to indicate; for, really serious as are the charges made against us, we can afford to be good-humoured under them. This outcry about abuses, and particularly about idolatry, or the peril of it, has been a standing war-cry of the Church's enemies from the beginning; and we may very calmly listen to it, after the indignant castigations it has received from St. Jerome. Eunomius, Porphyry, Vigilantius, were loud in their day, in denouncing the honour shown to saints as excessive, superstitious, and idolatrous. They were, in this respect, the Protestants of the earlier ages. They employed the very arguments now urged against us; they spoke nearly in the same words. There is

[a] Ep. ad Feliciam, ep. ccviii. tom. ii. col. 776, ed Bened.

consolation in this; and we feel almost a pleasure in having to speak on behalf of our poor and ignorant brethren, as that father did in defence of "the ignorance and simplicity" of some pious men, and women more particularly, in his time, when he asks, with similar feelings, "Idololatras appellas hujusmodi homines?"[b] And in order to carry out our intention of keeping a good temper in our discussion, we have a mind to pursue it entirely by the pleasant mode of historical narration. We mean to add rather to the budget of facts, which the industrious collectors, of the class we are dealing with, love to gather. We will try to match their narratives by others no less interesting or curious; and then leave our readers to judge which has the best of it.

We may imagine, if we please, some Persian gentleman, of ancient days, going on his travels, through Christian countries, with that instinctive horror of idolatry, and of worship through visible symbols, which became one accustomed to feed his piety only on the ethereal subtlety of the solar rays; most anxious to collect all possible evidence why *he* should not be a Christian. It is true, he understands very little of the languages of the countries through which he passes, and cannot be supposed to enter much into the habits, the ideas, and the feelings, of their inhabitants; but, with the help of a dictionary, and a *valet de place*, he can make his way; and, at any rate, he can see what the people do, and read their books and inscriptions. What place does Christ hold in their worship?—How does God appear in relation to men? Surely, we could easily imagine him struck with the prominent place which the martyrs occupy in all the worship, in the thoughts, and words, and feelings, of Christians;

[b] Adv. Vigilant Op. tom. ii. p. 394, ed. Vallarsii.

whether clergy or laity, learned or simple. Not a town does he come to, but he finds the Church most frequented, nay, crowded with worshippers, to be that of some martyr; while smaller oratories, in every direction, are favourite places of prayer, because they commemorate some other saint, or contain a portion of his ashes. Not an altar does he anywhere see, which is not consecrated by their relics. Before them hang lamps, garlands, and votive offerings; around them are palls of silk, and richest stuffs; their shrines are radiant with gold and jewels; the pavement of the temple is covered with prostrate suppliants, with the sick and afflicted, come to ask health and consolation from Christ's servant: the pilgrim from afar, scrapes, with simple faith, some of the dust from the floor or from the tomb; the preacher, aye, a Basil, or a Gregory, or a Chrysostom, or an Ambrose, instead of cooling their fervour, adds confidence, earnestness, and warmth to it, by a glowing and impassioned discourse in its favour.[c] And if he afterwards goes and interrogates these holy men, who, he might think, were carried off by their eloquence and the heat of discourse, what is their real belief, as he cannot bring himself to go as far as they seem to do, in veneration of saints and relics, he receives some such answer as this:— "What! will you not reverence, but rather contemn, those by whom evil sprits are expelled, and diseases cured; who appear in visions and foretell in prophecy; whose very bodies, if touched, or even honoured, are gifted with as much power as their holy souls; the drops of whose blood, or the smallest symbol of whose

[c] See, *inter alia*, the Homilies of S. Chrys. on SS. Bernice, &c. tom. ii. p. 645, ed. Bened.; of St. Basil in xl. Mart. tom. ii. p. 149, ed. Bened.; of St. Gregory Nyssen on St. Theodorus, tom. iii. p. 580, ed. 1638.

sufferings, have as much efficacy as their entire bodies ?[d] Or what will he say if one of these grave and learned men shall remark to him, by way of extolling the glory and merit of the martyrs :—" Perhaps, as we are purchased by the precious blood of Jesus ... so some may be purchased by the precious blood of martyrs ?"[e] Surely he may, at first sound of such words, exclaim, that the saints are made equal to their Lord, and that this must be a sad and idolatrous departure from what He may be supposed to have taught. And if he stops his ears, and does not admit or accept of explanation, what must we expect from him but a most mistaken report ?

Again, he looks about him. At Antioch he finds the church of St. Barlaam richly decorated with paintings; but all representing the life and death of the saint: Christ is introduced, but as if in illustration, or by chance, into the picture.[f] At Nola he finds a magnificent basilica, literally covered with mosaics and inscriptions, full of the praises of saints, and especially martyrs.[g] At Rome he sees the basilicas of the apostles, of St. Lawrence and others, adorned with similar encomiastic verses. Surely if he sends forth "a voice from Rome," it will be to proclaim that, *to him*, all this seems excessive reverence, and, if you please, worship, of men, no matter how holy. We should like to know how some great Father would have answered him; for that answer would just serve our case at present. If he descend into the catacombs,

[d] St. Gregory Naz. Or. ii. adv. Julian. Op. tom. i. p. 76. Par. 1609.

[e] Origen, Exhort. ad Martyr. Op. tom. i. p. 309, ed. De la Rue.

[f] See the Homily, probably by St. John Chrysostom, in St. Basil's Works, tom. ii. p. 141, ed. Garnier.

[g] S. Paulini Op. Ep. xxxii. ed. Murat. p. 194.

the favourite retreat of devout Christians, what does he find? Martyrs everywhere, their tombs hallow each maze of those sacred labyrinths, and form the altar of every chapel. Their effigies and praises cover the walls; prayers for their intercession are inscribed on their tablets. He goes into the houses of believers; memorials of the saints everywhere. Their cups and goblets are adorned with their pictures; for one representation of our Saviour he finds twenty of the blessed Virgin, or of St. Agnes, or St. Lawrence, or the apostles Peter and Paul.[h] What shall his "voice" pronounce these? What encouragement will it give to his brother fire-worshippers to embrace the Christian religion? Once more, we should have liked to see St. Jerome's answer to it.

Certainly, if we had nothing remaining from the early Church except the Liturgy, the ancient Christians would stand before us just as we do before others, when they look only at our solemn worship. In fact, the two Liturgies, theirs and ours, are the same. An Anglican fancies that so far, and no further, are we conformable to the practice of antiquity; and he will agree with us; unless he takes objection to the prayers for the departed, and the commemoration of martyrs, invariably found in every ancient Liturgy, as in ours, though carefully expunged, by the wicked pretenders to reform the perpetual practice of the Church of God—those who spoke of the Spouse of Christ as Pilate did of her Lord:—"emendatum ergo illum dimittam."[i] But, fortunately we have plenty of other documents to show us what the belief and practice of the ancient Fathers was on

[h] See Buonarotti's Osservazioni sopra alcuni Frammenti di vetri antichi.

[i] Luc. xxiii. 16.

extra-liturgical matters, such as form the staple of publications like that before us. We have their homilies, to which we have already referred; but we have what, in this respect, is even more interesting, a great body of familiar and anecdotic matter in their epistles and biographies, which, more than anything else, enable us to judge whether those great and holy men thought and felt Catholicly or Protestantly; or, if you please, Romanly or Anglicanly. The evidences of *popular* religion are sought now-a-days in documents such as would and could only be similarly preserved. The conversion of M. Ratisbonne, for instance, will have probably to be found, in after-ages, in the letters and *brochures* of the present day, or in some collection of edifying histories; and many of the verses and descriptions which so much scandalize our modern traveller, will possibly fall before a change of taste, or *edax vetustas;* and unless found worthy of a place in the laborious collection of some Fabretti or Muratori, posterity will only know of them through the gleanings of curious pryers into such matters for controversial purposes. In like manner many of those lesser feelings, those more homely sentiments and thoughts, which were interwoven with the every-day religion of the ancients, those tales which simple piety recorded for edification, not for evidence, are not to be sought in the solemn records of public deeds, nor often in earnest treatises on great dogmatical controversies, but in the unbosoming of friend to friend in familiar letters, or in the narrative of private virtues and domestic histories. If much of these has been lost, sufficient remains to show us the great men of the Church bending from their doctor's chair to the warm-hearted simplicity (called, in our age, credulity) of their poorest children,

believing and proclaiming, with unsuspicious confidence, tales of wonder, whereby God seemed glorified in His saints; and telling them in such manner, that they form most interesting tests, for ascertaining with whom their feelings and belief accorded—Rome or England; trustful, faithful, joyful Rome, or doubting, suspecting, moody England.

But we are not acting up to our promise. Let us, therefore, come to the point. In proof that the blessed Virgin is "worshipped as the mother of mercies, temporal and spiritual," the author before us appeals to the Baron de Bussière's account of M. Ratisbonne's conversion from Judaism, "which he distinctly attributes to the immediate operation of the Virgin Mary; for he relates, that it was effected by her actual appearance to him" (p. 16). Now what is meant to be granted, and what to be doubted here, we do not know. We suppose no one doubts that M. Ratisbonne, from a Jew, did become a Christian, and has become a religious; having abandoned home and friends, and given up a long-cherished alliance. Any one might as well deny that Sir R. Peel is prime minister. That he went into the church of St. Andrew a Jew, and came out a Christian, is attested upon evidence as certain as any fact can well be — that of trustworthy and honest men, who saw him and spoke with him before and after. For the change something must account. That it was a *true* conversion from Judaism to Christianity, with great temporal sacrifices, is clear; and such a conversion must have been the work of Divine grace. How communicated, is the question. The only witness can be the convert. He tells us it was through an apparition of the Mother of God, who instructed him in the mysteries of our holy religion.

Are we to believe that a person is chosen by the Divine goodness for an object of a most singular act of grace, at the moment that he devises and tells an abominable falsehood, to rob Him of the glory of it, and give it to another; by feigning a vision of the blessed Virgin? What does the author of the "Voice" mean to throw doubts on? On the apparition, as for such a purpose impossible? Or on the consequences drawn from it? Surely not on the latter; for if the vision was true, it was right to consider the blessed Mother of God, not as the source, but as the channel, of a great "spiritual mercy."

If he wished to insinuate that it would be derogatory to God's honour, or incompatible with His revealed doctrines, to believe such a mode of communicating grace and religious instruction possible; and, consequently, that the whole must be a figment or a delusion; we will, in answer, relate another similar story, in which not a Jew, but a bishop, was the party. And we will premise that we have it on the best authority.

The person to whom we allude was a young man of singular piety and virtue. Left young an orphan, he devoted his youth to study, in a celebrated university. There his assiduity in learning was only surpassed by the purity and innocence of his life, which stood the test of severe trials, and escaped the snares laid for him by profligate companions, jealous of his virtue. Having made himself master of all profane learning, he entered on a course of sacred studies, under the most celebrated professor of the day, and soon made considerable progress. He was, however, while yet young, put into orders, and even named bishop, before he considered himself well enough grounded in theological knowledge; though probably his humility led

him to exaggerate his deficiencies. He found himself quite unequal to the task of preaching the divine word, and on the eve of his first undertaking this duty, he lay sleepless on his bed, in agitation and anxiety. Suddenly he saw before him a venerable figure of an old man, whose countenance, attitude, and garb, bespoke great dignity, but who, at the same time, appeared most gracious and affable. Terrified with this appearance, he leaped from his couch, and respectfully asked him who he was, and for what purpose he had come. The old man replied, in a gentle voice, that he had come to calm his doubts, and solve his difficulties. This declaration soothed his fears, and made him look towards his visitor with a mixture of joy and awe; when he perceived that by steadily pointing with his hand towards the other side of the apartment, he seemed to wish to turn his attention in that direction. Thither he consequently turned his eyes, and there he beheld a lady of peerless majesty, and of more than human beauty, so resplendent, that his eyes could not bear the brightness of the vision, but he must needs bend them and his countenance down, in reverential awe. Thus he listened to the conversation of these two heavenly beings, which fully instructed him on the subjects whereon he felt anxious, and at the same time informed him who his gracious visitors were. For the lady, addressing the other by name of the Evangelist John, requested him to instruct the youth in the mystery of heavenly piety; and he replied, "that he was ready to do even this, to please the Mother of his Lord, seeing that she desired it." And accordingly he did so.

Such is our counterpart to the narrative objected to by our author, respecting M. Ratisbonne's conversion. Now before giving the name of our authority for this

wonderful history, or of the person to whom it refers, we will only beg our reader, if not sufficiently versed in ecclesiastical biography, at once to answer both points, to say to what Church or religion he considers either the writer or the subject of this anecdote belongs. Could he believe us, if we told him that it happened to Bishop Ken, or Bishop Wilson, or Archbishop Laud; or that we had transcribed it, as gravely told by some Anglican clergyman in a life of any of them? We are sure he could not. The idea of a Protestant bishop's learning his faith from a vision of the blessed Virgin, would be deemed repugnant to every principle and every feeling of the religion. But were we to tell the reader that the bishop spoken of was St. Alphonsus Liguori, or even St. Charles, and the narrator an Italian monk or priest, he would at once allow, that such an account, from such a pen, concerning such a person, was perfectly consistent with the principles of both; and though, if a Protestant, he might declare that he did not believe the story, he would acknowledge that it does not surprise him to find it in such a place. It must be then a Catholic, and not a Protestant, who thought or said he saw such a vision; and it must be a Catholic, and not a Protestant, who has recorded it, as believing it. And so it was. The bishop who thus learnt his faith was St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, only little more than two hundred years after Christ; and the recorder of the vision is the brother of the great St. Basil, St. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa.[k] This would have been a nice anecdote for our ancient note-taker upon the doctrines of Catholics.

We do not intend to pursue any very regular order; but just to pick up a few incidents, such as may show us how our fathers in the Faith thought, upon matters

[k] De Vita S. Greg. Thaumat. Op. tom. iii. p. 545, ed. Par. 1638.

whereon we are so censured. And as we have begun with the saints, and the wonders wrought by them, we will say a few words more concerning them. Let any one take the trouble to read any of the miracles recorded by St. Augustine in the twenty-second book of the City of God, and let him apply the criterion we have already given, of asking himself in what class of modern religious writings he would expect to meet with similar occurrences. Take, for instance, the history which he gives of a certain poor tailor at Hippo, named Florentius, who being in great want of clothing, and having no means of procuring it, went to the church of the Twenty Martyrs, and prayed aloud that he might be clothed. Some young men, professed scoffers, overheard him, and followed him, jeering him, as though he had prayed to those twenty martyrs for fifty-pence to buy a coat. The poor old man, however, going his way, found a fish cast on shore, yet alive, which he sold, and a gold ring was moreover found in it, and given to him by the honest purchaser, with these words: "See how the twenty martyrs have clothed you."[1] Now we are pretty sure, that many a poor Italian would, in his distress, do just what Florentius did, go to some church of the B. Virgin, or of some saint, and kneeling before the shrine, pray as he did. And we are equally clear that a party of English Protestant youths overhearing him (the *adolescentes irrisores* now-a-days of Catholic practices), would make as good a joke of the matter as did the young Hippo fashionables. So that it requires little to settle the *dramatis personæ* of St. Augustine's anecdote, on transporting it to modern times, and give Catholic and Protestant each his part. And no doubt, either an ancient or a modern collector of proofs, that the

[1] Op. tom. vii. p. 668, ed. Bened.

saints are made conveyors of "*temporal* mercies" in the Catholic system, would find the history equally applicable to his purpose; with this exception, however, that, as St. Augustine gives it among other proofs that the *Christian* religion is still evidenced by miracles, the ancient traveller would have turned it against Christianity, as the modern one would against Catholicity; so completely are the two identified.

Let us take a case bearing more minute comparison. In a little work containing the history of the Medal of the B. Virgin, commonly known by the epithet of *miraculous*, there are many extraordinary but well-attested cases of conversion of hardened unbelievers through the prayers of their friends, and the application of that blessed symbol, to the unconscious sinner. These to flesh and blood, to the dull sense, and the cold heart of the present generation, are hard to believe; and they are either silently rejected, or openly scoffed at—would to God it were only our adversaries! For instance, a soldier, we are told, in the military hospital at Paris, is on the point of death, and rejects every succour of religion. In vain the sisters of charity who attend him, in vain the good curate, make every effort, to bring him to a right feeling, on the necessity of making his peace with God. He rejects every offer; and at last, with violent oaths and brutal rage, imposes silence on the subject. Reduced to extremity, the pious sisters have recourse to prayer to the B. Virgin, not expecting him to survive the night; and place a medal secretly in his bed. He sleeps tranquilly, and on awaking, mildly sends for the curate, receives the sacraments with great devotion, and dies in peace.[m] This is only one instance out of many; often they are pious relations,

[m] Notice Historique, sixth ed. p. 76.

a daughter or a wife, that procure the grace; in every one we read of most fervent prayers poured out to God and His B. Mother. Those who would join in the "Voice from Rome," cannot be much edified, nay, on the contrary, are likely to be shocked and scandalized, by such a narrative. "What efficacy can there be supposed to exist in a mere symbol thus placed, like a charm" [so they would say] near, or on, a person heedless or unconscious of its presence? Who can believe that 'spiritual mercies' will thus be granted upon prayers to a saint? We must enter these down in our note-book, as the deceits or the delusions of popery."

Be it so, but we must have a corresponding one to enter into the tablets of our ancient inquirer, and here it is:—"There was a man at Calama of high rank, named Martial; advanced in years, and having a great repugnance to the Christian religion. He had a Christian daughter and son-in-law, that year baptized. They entreated him, with many tears, to become a Christian; but he positively refused, and drove them from him with violent indignation. His son-in-law bethought him of going to the chapel of St. Stephen, and there praying for him to the utmost of his power, that God would give him grace to believe, without delay, in Christ. He did so, and with many sobs and tears, and with the ardour of sincere devotion. Departing, he took with him some flowers from the altar, and, when it was night, placed them at the sick man's head. He slept; but before daybreak, he called out, requesting that they would send for the bishop, who happened to be with me in Hippo. On hearing of this, he begged that some of the clergy might be sent for. They came; he declared himself a believer; and, to the astonishment and joy of all, was baptized. So long as

he lived, he had in his mouth the words, 'O Christ, receive my spirit;' though he did not know that these were the last words of the blessed Stephen when stoned by the Jews. They were, likewise, his last, for he soon expired."[n] Here, then, we have our parallel; each part of the modern narrative has its counterpart in the ancient; and if one is to be rejected, so is the other. There is, in both, an obstinate infidel, or sinner, who will not be converted to God: there are pious persons who pray to the saints; there is a badge or symbol of their intercession—for the flower from the altar means the same as the medal;—in each case it is placed in the bed of the unsuspecting patient; and, in both instances, he awakes at morning to ask for God's minister, to administer a Sacrament of forgiveness. Yet, the one narrative is of France, in the nineteenth century; the other of Africa, in the beginning of the fifth (A.D. 427). How comes it that such accidental coincidences should be found, with such distances of time and place, save as fruits of one tree, as plants of one seed, as evidences of one system? And do not they who find fault with such evidences, in our times and countries, equally censure them in others; and thereby place themselves in the awkward position of scoffers of Christianity—not of what they are pleased, in the later instances, to nickname Popery?

We could carry on much further this comparison between miracles which are considered the production of modern Catholicity, and such as are recorded, with perfect confidence, by ancient writers, and in every instance draw the same conclusion—a conclusion which goes quite as far as dogmatical texts from homilies or treatises, to prove the identity of ancient and modern Catholicity in those matters on which the latter is

[n] S. Aug. lib. xxii. cap. viii. De Civit. Dei, tom. vii. p. 668.

most harshly treated, as being a departure from the former.

Connected with the subject, there is a point on which we wish to touch, as being one of common reprehension, not only in the little work before us, but in many others of a similar tendency. We allude to that species of partiality which seems to be shown at a given time, to a particular sanctuary, in which some shrine or image is found, through which God is thought to work more wonderfully than elsewhere. Such, at this moment, is the shrine of St. Philomena, at Mugnano, or the church of St. Augustine, at Rome. It would be easy to bring together many passages from ancient writers, that show the prevalence of a similar feeling, and its consequent practices; indeed the book and chapter in the works of the holy doctor just named, to which we have more than once referred, will furnish proofs of the peculiar regard in which certain places consecrated by relics (like the oratories of St. Stephen), were held by him. But such feelings of veneration, confidence, and attachment, towards one saint and his sanctuary, are by no one so well represented as by the learned, the holy, and the truly amiable St. Paulinus. Few of the Fathers let us more delightfully into the secrets of the Christian life and the Christian heart in ancient days, than the bishop and poet of Nola. A patrician by birth, the scholar of Ausonius (who compares him to the ancient classics) by education, a poor monk by choice and vocation, the delight and friend of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, and all the great and good men of his day, the admiration of the whole Church, he exhibits in his letters a simplicity of faith, a tenderness of affection, an innocent playfulness, a cheerfulness, and an unaffected humility, which most pleasingly combine with

the depth of his devotion, and the richness of his sacred learning. There are few of the Fathers who gain more upon our every-day, and homelier feelings, and make themselves more familiar with their readers than he does. But throughout his works he is the servant of St. Felix, the glorious martyr of Nola. Near his tomb, though himself a native of Gaul, he resides, a poor hermit (having sold all, and given the price to the poor) and priest; afterwards bishop of the see. To celebrate the anniversaries of that saint, by poems and festivities; to build a basilica in his honour, and adorn it with mosaics and verses; to make his friends love him and believe in his power, and bring them to visit the shrine of his father and patron, as he styles him—seem his most pleasing occupations. How Catholic his language, everywhere, to Catholic ears! How *Popish* it must sound to Protestant! By way of example: the "Voice from Rome" cries out against the following occurrence, or at least the feelings it excited. A young woman is run over by a cart (an empty one, but Roman carts are not very light even when empty), close to the church of our Lady, attached to the hospital of the Consolazione, while holy exercises were going on within. She escapes what every one considers an imminent danger of death; and the people cry out "E un miracolo della Madonna!" This is brought as a proof that temporal blessings are sought from the Blessed Virgin. It so happens that St. Paulinus relates a something similar accident, and reasons much in the same way as those poor Italians did. Fortunately, he had no English Protestants near. A person of the name of Martinianus was coming to him with letters, or rather with a message; and on his way from Capua to Nola, a distance of about twenty miles, he met a man with mules returning home, after

discharging their loads; just as one may now meet them among the Tusculan hills, after they have taken wine to Rome; so he wisely bargained for a ride, which was given him cheap.

"Nactus vacantem sarcina mulum (ut solent
Jumenta revocari domum)
Parvo breve per iter ære conductum sedet."

When about half way, the mule took fright and grew restive. Martinianus (who had lately been more of a sailor[o] than of a horseman) was thrown, and flung to a distance. But, though he fell among stones and thorns, he was neither bruised nor scratched. How did this happen? St. Paulinus has no difficulty about it. Had he been expressing it in prose, and in Italian, he would have said, "E un miracolo di San Felice." As he was writing Latin verse, he describes and explains the event as follows:—

"Medioque mox spatio viæ
Muli pavore sessor excussus procul
Vectore subducto cadit.
In ora lapsus ora non læsit sua,
In saxa fusus et rubos
Nec sente vultum, nec lapide artus contudit.
Felicis exceptus manu;
Qui jam propinquantem ædibus fratrem suis,
Non passus occursu mali
Suis periclum in finibus capessere;
Hostem removit invidum,
Et hunc fidelem compotem voti, *suis*
Confessor induxit locis.
Nostrisque juxta sedibus gratum intulit
Felix patronus hospitem."[p]

[o] St. Paulinus, in this poem, describes a practice yet existing among English sailors, that of whistling for more wind:—

—— "Gubernator—
— Fortiores provehendis cursibus
Auras vocabat sibilo."—v. 44.

[p] Poema xxii. 405-421, Op. col. 583, ed. Murat.

St. Felix, therefore, St. Paulinus hesitates not to say, prevented this poor man's being hurt, and brought him safe to his journey's end; because he was within some few miles of his church, and was journeying towards his client Paulinus. Surely St. Paulinus was a downright Romanist!

And so he was. For he made it a point to go to Rome every year, as he repeatedly tells us, for the festival of the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul;[q] and he was much consoled by the kindness which the Roman pontiff showed him, in inviting him to Rome, to commemorate the anniversary of his election. Now this brings us to the point for which we first referred to St. Paulinus,—his attachment to one particular sanctuary, and his affection to one saint, there honoured. In one of his epistles to his friend Sulpicius Severus (whom he had been disappointed in not meeting that year in Rome), he reproaches him, half playfully, but not without seriousness, for neglecting to come and visit, as he had promised, "his lord [St.] Felix," as he calls him (Dominum meum Felicem). He bids him beware how he incurs his displeasure, by promising a pilgrimage, and not fulfilling it. "Scio quidem," he adds, "et in Domino meo Felice viscera pietatis affluere; sed te quæso, hoc eum magis diligas et timeas, quo melior est et indulgentior .... ut tanto magis carissimum Dei metuas offendere quanto promptius dignatur ignoscere."[r] This surely is most unprotestant, and therefore, most Catholic, language. We could imagine it used by the good

[q] "Romæ, cum solemni consuetudine, ad beatorum Apostolorum natalem venissemus."—Ep. xx. col. 108. "Cum apostolicam solemnitatem voti nostri, et itineris annui socius celebrasset."—Ep. xliii. col. 254.

[r] Ep. xvii. col. 96.

archpriest of Mugnano (St. Paulinus was not yet bishop when he thus wrote) to some friend who had promised to visit the tomb of his patroness St. Philomena, and had disappointed him. Had such a letter come from him, what a rich page it would have made in a modern English traveller's note-book! For want of it, therefore, we beg to offer him that of the curate's neighbour in place and in faith—St. Paulinus.

Before shutting up the volume of his works, there is another topic, allied to the preceding, which we may be glad to hear him on. But we must introduce it by a little domestic history, on which again we will crave the reader's opinion, whether the parties in it were Catholic or Protestant.

There lived in retirement, in a house of religious women dedicated to God, a nun of singular piety and wisdom, the sister of two bishops, both distinguished for the learning of their writings, and the holiness of their lives. One, the more celebrated one, was just dead, and his loss was deplored as a public calamity by all good men. The other, having a little leisure after this event, resolved to go and visit his saintly sister, whom he had not seen for many years. The distance was great; and when he was within a day's journey from the place where she lived, he had at night a most remarkable vision, which turned into fear the hopes of the future. "For I seemed to myself;" such is his own account, "to bear in my hands the relics of martyrs, from which darted forth a splendour like that of a burnished mirror held against the sun; so that my eyes were dazzled by the brilliancy of the light. Three times that night did this vision come before me."[s] Unable to divine its meaning, he looked forward to events to expound it. As he

[s] Ubi inf. p. 188.

approached the monastery, he inquired about his sister, and heard for the first time that she was somewhat indisposed. His coming had, in the mean time, been made known, and a large concourse of persons went out to meet him. But the holy virgins modestly awaited him in the church, and after he had prayed, and had given them his blessing (they bending lowly to receive it), they retired. On entering the convent, he found his sister very ill in her cell; but instead of a bed, she lay upon a plank on the ground, with another for her pillow. We will not detain our readers with the edifying account of her words and prayers in her last hours; how she dismissed her brother when the sound of the vespers' chant reached her cell; that he might not omit this duty;[t] how often when she closed her own sublime prayer, she signed herself with the cross on her eyes, her mouth, and her breast; and how her last act was to raise her hand again to do so."[u] These things may serve to help the reader in his judgment, as to the religion of the holy persons engaged; but are not what we are seeking. The pious virgin thus expires, and a religious matron, the friend of the deceased, undertakes, as she had promised, to prepare her holy remains for interment. We will now give the words of the bishop, her brother. "Vestiana arranging with her own hands that sacred head, and having her hand under the neck, exclaimed, looking towards me, 'See what sort of a necklace this saint wore;' and at the same time loosening a string from behind the neck, stretched out her hand and showed us an iron cross and a ring of the same metal, which both hung, by a thin cord, over her heart. Upon this I said: 'Let us share this inheritance. You keep the cross as a memorial; I will be content with this ring

[t] Page 192. [u] Page 195.

as my legacy; for this likewise has the cross carved upon its boss.' Whereupon she, looking more closely at it, said to me: 'You have not made a bad choice; for the ring is hollow under the boss, and in it is inserted a portion of the wood of life (the true cross); and thus the cross engraved above, rightly indicates that which lies underneath.'" [x]

Will any reader hesitate in deciding of what religion were all the persons here engaged? Were they Anglicans? We should be indeed glad to know, how many crosses — not golden ones, worn as vain ornaments outside, but of inferior metals, concealed, and lying over the heart, and how many reliquaries similarly placed, could be collected in the households of English bishops. But look at the neck of any swarthy peasant who open-breasted digs the fields, or plucks the vines, of Italy, and you will find the "thin cord" around it, that sustains some similar memorial of Christ's passion. Nay, in either of our islands, we hesitate not to say that the poor Catholic might be distinguished from the Protestant by these very badges —the cross, or the relic, or the medal, or even the ring with a cross for its posey, suspended round the neck, and lying on the breast, in life and after death. We have known the body of a shipwrecked Catholic so recognised at once. How tightly and closely does a "little thin cord" like this bind together the belief and feelings of the old and modern Church, and prove them still the same! How home to the Catholic heart does such a trifling incident casually recorded come! Come, how full of convictions, of encouragements, of consolation! How joyfully even can one bear to be taxed with superstition, in company with the holy Macrina, the sister of St. Basil, and her biographer,

[x] S. Greg. Nyss. in Vita S. Macrinæ, Oper. tom. ii. p. 198.

St. Gregory of Nyssa! For these are the persons of whom we have been writing.

But if those who had chosen such complete poverty as this holy nun, wore but a reliquary of iron, it must not be fancied that this argued any light estimation of so precious a relic as a portion of the holy Cross: for they that could, or might, without violation of a religious engagement, would wear it enshrined in gold. We have a beautiful letter of St. Paulinus upon this subject. Severus had asked him for relics of martyrs, for the consecration of a church which he was building. He replies that if he had but "a scruple of their sacred ashes to spare he would send it." But as he required all that he had for his own new church, he sends him another present to add to the relics which he must get elsewhere;—this was a particle of the "divine Cross:"—"Invenimus quod digne, et ad basilicæ sanctificationem vobis, et ad sanctorum cinerum cumulandam benedictionem mitteremus, partem particulæ de ligno divinæ Crucis." The portion which he sends is, he informs him, almost invisible, but he must believe it to possess all the power and virtue of the entire Cross, a present safeguard, and a pledge of eternal life. "Accipite magnum in modico munus; et in segmento pene atomo astulæ brevis sumite munimentum præsentis, et pignus æternæ salutis. Non angustietur fides vestra carnalibus oculis parva cernentibus, sed interna acie totam in hoc minimo vim Crucis videat." The relic was inclosed in a small gold tube,—"tubello aureolo rem tantæ benedictionis inclusimus."[y] When afterwards he sends Severus verses for the inscriptions in his church, he sends two copies for the altar; one in case he puts this particle of the holy Cross with the other relics;

[y] Ep. xxxi. col. 189.

the other, should he prefer to keep it to wear himself. The reasons which he gives in favour of the latter alternative are perfectly Catholic. "If, however, you would rather keep this blessed portion of the Cross at hand, for your daily protection and care, lest once shut up in the altar, it may not be ready for you and at hand, when wanted for use, &c."[z]

Now we should much like to try the experiment of this passage upon a well-informed Protestant (not versed in ancient learning) and an ignorant Catholic; it would indeed be the *experimentum Crucis*. The former would at once smell out popery in it, have some vague figure of superstition floating in sulphureous vapours about his head; but would surely not be able to attach any definite, intelligible meaning to the words. He certainly would not believe them extracted from the letters either of John Wesley, or of Bishop Bull. Only fancy Mr. Bickersteth writing such a letter! Nay, or Dr. Hook, who the other day published in the papers, that if any one said he ever used the sign of the Cross, he told a falsehood! But our poor Catholic, we will be bound to say, would at once feel that the language was perfectly Catholic; he would know what it meant, and understand, if he had the means, how to put it in practice. The queen of the French lately knew how to do this, how "having such a relic at hand to use it," when she took the reliquary with a portion of the holy Cross from round her neck, and placed it on the forehead of her dying eldest son.

But it is time to pass to something else, and to draw to a conclusion. The writer before us takes great pains to prove, that at Rome, the people have perfectly wrong ideas concerning the Divine Mysteries,

[z] Ep. xxxii. col. 201.

or the Mass. All idea of a Communion, he tells us, is excluded, "and it is regarded simply as a sacrifice expiatory for the living and the dead. That it is so in masses for the dead, no person can dispute." He then goes on to say, that it is very rare for any one to communicate except the priest, and insinuates that only a few times a year is communion general in Rome. To this assertion we must give an unqualified denial. There are thousands who frequent communion every week, many more frequently, and even every day. And as to monthly communicants, there surely is scarcely a house in the city that has not some. But our traveller, very probably, like most English visitors, did not know when or where to look for them. Possibly before he had left his snug quarters in the Piazza di Spagna, on a winter's morning, many a church had been filled and emptied more than once. But we wish, at present, only to attend to the erroneous views which he attributes to the Romans, respecting the adorable Sacrifice of the altar. He is wrong in stating that "it is regarded *simply* as a sacrifice expiatory for the living and the dead." Take out the adverb, and all is right. But to bring the subject before our readers, as we have done other topics, we will turn to another part of the book, in which he speaks about, or against, matters connected with masses for the dead.

Quoting examples of privileged altars, he gives us the following inscription and translation from "what is called St. Gregory's cell, in his church upon the Cœlian hill." "Hac in cella TT. Gregori I. Pont. Max. celebratæ missæ animam cruciat. purgatori solvunt.—During the times of Pope Gregory the First, masses celebrated in this cell, released a soul from purgatorial torments" (p. 34). There is certainly some

mistake here. The verb is in the present, and cannot refer to the times of St. Gregory. We have no means at hand of verifying the inscription, but we suppose TT. is a mistake. But we are not sorry for it, inasmuch as it authorizes us to inquire whether St. Gregory himself would have countenanced our writer, or us, in our respective and conflicting views of masses offered for the dead, *in that very place.*

He tells us, that in his own monastery, the very one on the Cœlian hill, there had died, three years before he wrote the account, a certain monk, named Justus, who having been infirmarian, had put by a trifling sum of money, made by his medical practice. Coming near his end, he manifested it to his brother, a layman, who in his turn revealed it to the superior. The latter, alarmed at such an unusual violation of religious poverty, carried the matter to St. Gregory. He ordered the most severe treatment; that none of the brethren should go near him to comfort him in his last hour, and that his body should be buried in unconsecrated ground, and his money (after the manner of the Egyptian solitaries in a similar case) should be cast disdainfully upon the corpse. He died, however, with great signs of contrition and repentance. After thirty days, the holy Pontiff tells us, that he thought with compassion of the punishment he had incurred in the other world, and how he might be freed. "Then," thus he writes, "calling to myself Pretiosus, the superior of the monastery, I said to him, 'Our brother, lately dead, has now been long tormented in the fire (*igne cruciatur*); we must show him some charity, and see if we can help him, and snatch him thence. Go, therefore, and see that you offer up sacrifice for him for thirty days, counting from to-day, so that not a day be allowed to pass, without the

saving Victim's being immolated for his pardon.'" This was carefully complied with. After thirty days, St. Gregory tells us that the deceased appeared to his brother, who knew nothing of what had been done for his benefit, and told him that till now he had been in suffering, but that day was released.[a] St. Gregory, therefore, believed that the sacrifice of the mass did, in his times, free souls from the torments of purgatory, and that on the Cœlian hill. And, moreover, he believed that there was no harm in offering up that holy sacrifice many times, for the express purpose of expiating the sins of the dead.

And as for the living, St. Gregory believed the same. For in a following chapter, he gives an account of an extraordinary occurrence, well attested, it having happened only seven years before. Agatho, archbishop of Palermo, was summoned to Rome by the Pope; and of course obeyed. On his voyage, he encountered a severe tempest; and during it, a sailor, of the name of Baraca (when St. Gregory wrote, a clerk in the church of Palermo), getting into a boat which was in tow of the vessel, went adrift, in consequence of the rope breaking. The ship itself was driven ashore on the island of Ustica, and the good archbishop, having waited three days, and giving up the poor sailor for lost, did what alone he could for him, as he supposed him dead; "ordered the sacrifice of the saving Victim to be offered up for the pardon of his soul, to Almighty God." After this, he sailed to Italy. What was his amazement, on landing at Porto, to see the very man! Upon interrogating him, he was told that the boat in which he was carried out to sea had soon capsized, but he had fortunately got upon the keel. There, after long fasting and

[a] Dial. lib. iv. cap. iv. Op. tom. ii. p. 468, ed. Bened.

fatigue, he began to faint, when suddenly he seemed to be between sleeping and waking, and a person appeared to him, who gave him a morsel of bread, which instantly revived him; and a ship passing near picked him up. Upon further questioning him, the bishop found that this happened at the very moment that the holy sacrifice was offered up for him at Ustica.[b]

Now, our present inquiry is not whether these narratives are true or not: we have not the slightest difficulty in believing them; but if those with whom we are at issue choose to reject them, it makes no matter as to our argument. All we have to ask is: could such an accident have been believed and related by a Protestant divine or bishop? Could he have consistently given it in illustration or corroboration of *his* doctrine respecting the Church service, and its application to the living and the dead? But could not a modern Catholic do so even now, without altering a syllable? Does it not agree, *ad amussim*, with that doctrine respecting the mass, which our tourist blames?

We will only give another instance of the application of the sacred mysteries to a particular purpose, where not communion, but the procuring of a benefit, was the object of their celebration.—A certain man had a country house, which he believed to be infested by evil spirits. In the absence of the bishop, he asked the clergy, that one of them would go there and pray for the removal of the visitation. "One of them went, and there offered up the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and prayed most earnestly that the annoyance might cease; which, through the divine mercy it did."[c] Here was mass celebrated to obtain a blessing for an

[b] Cap. lvii. p. 469.

[c] St. Aug. ubi sup. p. 666.

individual. In fact, the man and the priest (both whose conduct St. Augustine, the narrator, approves) did exactly what Catholics, nowadays, would do, under similar circumstances. No Anglican clergyman, we suspect, would think of performing the Communion service for such a purpose. There is another Popish feature about this African transaction, which may be worth mentioning. This good man had procured from a friend some earth from the Holy Land, from Our Lord's sepulchre, and had hung it up in his room, that it might be a protection to him. But, having now no further use for it, "He did not wish, out of reverence, to keep it any longer in his room." What did he do? Why, hearing that St. Augustine and another bishop were in the neighbourhood, he asked them to come over. They did so, and he told them all that had happened; and begged that the holy earth might be reverently buried in some oratory. They did not laugh at him, nor tell him that he was superstitious; but they complied; and a youth afflicted with palsy, having been carried to the place, at his own request, walked home cured. Whether the Catholicity of the learned and holy father, who seriously and believingly gives this account, agrees with ours, or with that claimed by the Anglican church, let any one decide.

It is now time that we close. The sort of inquiry which we have been pursuing, may be considered but of a secondary importance, compared with the discussion of grave authorities, and solemn texts. And so we mean to consider it. But often minute coincidences in trifles may do much to corroborate substantial proofs. In tracing the descents of nations or of tribes, the naturalist will attach importance to small resemblances. The prevalence of the same garb, or of some food, or of some weapon; similarity of habits in

domestic or public life, will do as much often in establishing the identity of some modern people with an ancient race, as a mass of ethnographical and historical data. And so, every incident of the private and more hidden life of the ancient Christians, which unlocks their daily thoughts and exposes their domestic practices, affords an element of comparison between them, and modern aspirants to descent from them, similarly decisive, though equally, in themselves, insignificant. It may, indeed, be said, that a few examples such as we have, without much trouble, brought together, do not justify the frequency of similar practices among modern Catholics. To this we reply, in the words of St. Jerome, when answering a similar objection, "Quod semel fecisse bonum est, non potest malum esse si frequentius fiat: aut si aliqua culpa vitanda est, non ex eo quod sæpe, sed ex eo quod fit aliquando, culpabile est."[d] But, in addition, we beg to observe, that one incident that has escaped the ravages of time, given as a matter of course, and as an ordinary occurrence, represents a multitude of others, resembling it, that have been lost. It is like the arrow or the helmet found in the tomb of an ancient people; they enable us to reconstruct their armoury: no one, for a moment, assumes that they happen to be specimens of an unique and never-repeated model. And so, who will imagine that no one but St. Macrina wore a cross and relic round her neck, and that none but St. Gregory Thaumaturgus ever believed in visions of the Blessed Virgin, because these examples may stand nearly alone in the records of their respective times?

[d] "That which is good if done once, cannot become evil by being done frequently; and where a fault is to be avoided, the fault consists not in its being often, but its being ever, incurred."—Adv. Vigilant. p. 396.

Both events are narrated without surprise—the stamp of novelty. The same is to be said of every other instance which we have given.

We may, therefore, safely conclude, that, so far as we have gone into the matter, "a Voice from Rome" might be raised, strongly protesting against the religion of those who set up for reformers and critics of the great Apostolic Church, instead of bowing down their necks in docility to its authoritative teaching: a voice which would rise, in murmurs, from the catacombs, shaking the very ground with its mysterious utterings; which would ring, with golden echoes, from the tombs of martyrs, beneath altars, against the mosaic apse that overhangs them; which would travel, on the wings of Catholic faith and Catholic love, to distant lands, over Alps and seas; beat on the shores of Africa, of Pontus, and of Spain; and return from all, in the indignant words of their greatest men, to confound, in its thunder, the presumption of modern schism, that pretends alliance with ancient Catholicity.

THE

ACTIONS

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW *for Dec.* 1851.

*** This Article should have been inserted immediately after that on "The Miracles of the New Testament," ending on page 244 of this volume.

THE

ACTIONS

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ART. III. — 1. *Jesus the Son of Mary; or, the Doctrine of the Catholic Church upon the Incarnation of God the Son, considered in its bearings upon the reverence shown by Catholics to his Blessed Mother.* By Rev. JOHN BRANDE MORRIS, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Toovey, 1851.

2. *Lettres Catholiques sur l'Evangile.—Catholic Letters on the Gospel.* By the ABBE MASSIOT. Paris: Dentu, 1851.

WHEN, some numbers back, we treated first of the Parables,[a] and then of the Miracles, of the New Testament,[b] and showed how they could only receive their obvious explanation, as instructions, through the Catholic system, we felt that the same principle was applicable to all that our Redeemer said or did to make us wise unto salvation. To suppose that the less direct teaching of the Gospel belonged exclusively to the Spouse, and that the more immediate announcement of religious truth was common property to her and to her rivals, would indeed be an anomaly of reasoning, whereof we should be sorry to have any one suspect us. The miracle was for the unbelieving multitude; the parable was for the heartless priest and scribe; for friends and dear ones were the ordi-

[a] Vol. xxvii. [b] Ibid.

nary and domestic actions of Christ's earthly life; for apostles and disciples were His words of eternal life, the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. The Church that alone can claim succession, in ministry, in truth, in grace, and even in history, from these, must alone be entitled to appropriate to herself what was done and said for *them*. Others may stand in the skirts of the crowd, and listen; some may even penetrate into the inner circle that stands about Jesus, to interrogate, being doctors of the law, or to tempt, being pharisees. And if, like those who were sent to apprehend Him, but remained to listen to him, they attend with sincerity to His doctrines in parables and in mighty works, they will find them directed, as we have before seen, to force them into communion with, and submission to, the one, holy, and apostolic, Church, in which alone His teaching ends, which alone His miracles illustrate.

But when the day's labour is closed, and no Nicodemus comes by night, to prolong it, before our heavenly Teacher retires to the mountain-top, or to His humble chamber, to pass the hours of repose in *His* rest, "the prayer of God," we see Him seated in the company of the few, of the faithful, and the loving; the Shepherd of the little flock, the Father of a slender household, partaking with them of their homely fare, and sharing with them in their untutored conversation. That His speeches to the multitude and to the priests were clothed in noble and elegant language, no one can doubt. The people admired not only the wisdom, but the grace, which flowed from His lips;[c] the learned, like Nicodemus, conversed with Him respectfully;[d] and all wondered at the gifts, ordinarily of education, spontaneously springing from

[c] Luke iv. 22. [d] John iii. 2.

the mind of a reputed carpenter's son.[e] But without repassing the ground trodden over in the first of the articles referred to, we will content ourselves with saying, that had the language, or accent, of our Saviour betrayed any symptoms of Galilean rudeness, the ridicule which might have been cast upon it would have been too keen and too useful a weapon, to have been refused by his unprincipled foes. The Jewish writers are unsparingly severe upon it. But when we come to contemplate our B. Redeemer, retired from the crowd into the society of His disciples and familiar friends, we cannot but see Him descend into the familiar dialect of His own country; as senators in Venice, or nobles in Provence, would do when in the bosoms of their families. With Peter, whose speech in the priest's hall made him known for a Galilean,[f] he would converse in those homely phrases, and with those local tones, which formed the language of the more favoured cottage, as of the surrounding dwellings, of Nazareth, and which he condescended to lisp in infancy, as if caught from the sweet lips of His humble Mother. For affectation must be removed, as much as coarseness, from our estimate of His character, who chose to be poor among the poor.

And thus also we come to contemplate the frugal meal at which this heavenly conversation was held, as corresponding in its outer form and features. Rude furniture, in an unadorned chamber, rough-hewn tables and stools, the wooden platter, and the earthenware beaker, are the preparation for a repast, of which the bread is not from Aser,[g] nor the wine from Engaddi. Yet what a banquet! Here it is that the parable is explained, and the want of faith censured; that contentions for precedence are checked, and deep lessons

[e] Matt. xiii. 56. [f] Matt. xxvi. 43. [g] Gen. xlix. 20.

of charity and humility are taught; that, in fine, the mysteries of revelation are disclosed, and the gospel seed is dropped into warm and panting hearts.

Surely then, if the Church can claim the more mysterious teaching of adverse or curious crowds, as all directed for her improvement, she must have as fair a right to appropriate to herself that more intimate and direct instruction, which was addressed to those, whom she alone represents, and succeeds, on earth. And such is the teaching by actions, and by words. To the first we shall confine ourselves in this paper, reserving the second to a future opportunity.

But though we have drawn a faint outline of our Lord's dealings with His apostles and friends, by way of describing the scenes of familiar life in which we may find instruction, in so doing we have kept before us an ulterior view.

I. In fact, if "Christian" signifies a follower and disciple of Christ, one who looks up to his Master's example as a perfect model, there must, and will, be among those who bear that name, many that will gladly copy whatever He has been pleased to do. To all, this may not be given, any more than it is granted them to resemble Him in His ministry, or in His sufferings, or in His more spiritual prerogatives. But as His type is not to be found reproduced in any one of His disciples, as John came nearest to Him in love, Peter in elevation and headship, Paul in eloquence, James in prayer, Andrew in death; and as in later times His sacramental grace lives in His priesthood, His patience in His martyrs, His union of soul with God in His holy virgins: so may we expect to find in some class of His chosen imitators this love and choice of poverty, this denudation of worldly comfort, and neglect of bodily ease. Our B. Redeemer is indeed a

fount of burning light, the very sun of the spiritual firmament in His Church; and the rays that are concentrated, with dazzling intensity in Him, diverge and are scattered over earth as they descend; and one is reflected back from one soul, and another from another, reproducing jointly the image of Himself; but each one brightly rendering back only one, though absorbing many more. Now if one of the virtues of our Lord was contempt of earthly things, and love necessarily of abjection, it must yet be reflected upon earth somewhere in His Church; and if this virtue be found only in one among contending parties, it surely will form a moral note, a seal of Christ not to be mistaken.

We imagined, for instance, just now, this heavenly teacher joining His disciples in their temperate repast, entertaining them meanwhile with that word, on which man lives, no less than upon bread.[h] Now let us descend eleven hundred years in time, and travel from Palestine to a more westerly region. There is a cleft in a mountain's side, down which, though most precipitous, and seemingly carved out by an ancient torrent, rarely a drop of water flows, into whose dismal avenue no songster of the grove is known to penetrate. Patched against the side of this gloomy glen, and rooted in its grey crags, is a dwelling half-built, half-excavated, which, at the period alluded to, had just been constructed. The inmates are at meat. Just enter in. Their refectory is low, dark, and damp, for one part of it has its walls of rock. All else is in admirable keeping: the tables and forms are scarcely less rugged. And what is on the former does not fall much behind. A few herbs from the impracticable garden, seasoned poorly, bread of the coarsest, and drink of the sourest, form the provision. At this are

[h] Matt. iv. 4.

seated young men and old, all simply clad, of grave aspect and modest demeanour. One alone is not engaged as the rest. He is seated apart, and reads to them that eat. Let us listen to his words, which seem to rivet the attention of all, and give a dainty relish to their homely food. Is it from the "Romaunt of the Rose" that he is reading? Is he reciting scraps of minstrelsy, that tell of chivalrous deeds, or of some high-born dame on her ambling palfrey, escorted by a gallant knight? Something of the sort, forsooth; but sweeter, Oh! by far! From the Book of books he is reading, how, in cold winter, a gentle maiden rode from Nazareth to Bethlehem upon an ass, attended by a poor carpenter; and at her journey's end, lodged in a stable. At this simple tale, behold, he who presides puts away his frugal platter, and rises from his hard seat, trembling with emotion, his eyes glistening with tears, his hands clasped convulsively. What has caused this sudden outburst of grief? Why, he seems to himself a base poltroon, a dainty, delicate fellow, lodged gloriously, clothed luxuriously, fed sumptuously, the very rich glutton of the Gospel, when he compares himself with her, who, delicate, and pure as the lily bending over the snowdrop, adores the heavenly Infant who has come, in that hour, to share her cold and poverty. And so he crouches down in shame and humility on the clay pavement of his refectory, and in a low wailing, broken with sobs, exclaims: "Woe is me! The Mother of my God seated on the ground, and I comfortably placed at table! My infant Saviour poor and destitute, and I enjoying an abundant meal!"

Now to the scripture read, this was then a commentary, and it must be allowed a practical one. It said, more plainly than the neatest print of modern

fount could convey it, that if Jesus Christ chose poverty and discomfort for Himself and those whom He best loved, He cannot but be pleased with those who, out of dear love of Him, choose a similar state. It goes on to say, that even when we have done our best to copy, the divine original stands far above us, and beyond our reach, and there is room left for humility at seeing our distance. And so the holy St. Francis, one of whose many beautiful actions we have been narrating, as well as many of his companions, had been rich, but had become poor, nay, wretchedly poor, and mortified, and neglectful of self, and all for God's sake. Yes, though in a cavern, clad in a single tunic, girt with a cord, and feeding on commonest fare, he saw enough to make him weep, in the greater abasement of God made man.

A proud supercilious age will no doubt tell us, that St. Francis did not rightly read the Gospel. Was he wrong, then, in understanding from it, that our Saviour loved and chose poverty? Or was he wrong in believing it good to love and choose what *He* loved and chose? If the meal which we have described is not to be considered as approaching to the character and spirit of the repast enjoyed by the apostolic college, with their divine Head, then we will agree to go elsewhere to look for a parallel. Whither shall we go? To the workhouse, with its inflexible dietary? Or to the hospital, like St. Cross, with its stinted fare? But it is the voluntary imitation of the divine example, in the Church, that we are seeking; and not the compulsory fasts inflicted on others by the State or the Church. Perhaps when churchmen meet in hall—the nearest approach to the monastic refectory—for example, in one of our universities, may be expected the closest adaptation of necessary refection

to the evangelical standard. On a fast-day, particularly of the Establishment's appointment, we may hope to see how well it reads the gospel injunctions. Beneath the well-carved, lofty roof-tree, beside the emblazoned oriel, amidst the portraits of the great and rich men, who have sanctified the hall before then, around tables well furnished—we will say no more—sit the ministers of a dispensation, which if it be of invisible and spiritual goods, neglects not the ponderable and the perceptible. Perhaps, after the duties of the hour are over, one of them will wipe his mouth, and proceed to evening lecture in the pulpit, there to assure his hearers that, among the superstitions of popery is that of embracing a life of poverty and abjection, voluntarily suffering privations, subjecting the body by austerity: all which comes of not studying the Scriptures; as neither the example of our Lord, nor the writings of Paul, give the least warranty for such unnatural conduct. And he will instance, as proof, the grovelling Francis, who quite lost sight of his Saviour, by going on the path of poverty.

In the life of St. Gregory the Great, we read that he daily entertained, and served, at table twelve poor men, in honour of the twelve apostles; and that one day a thirteenth unbidden guest sat with them. "And none of them that were at meat durst ask Him: Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord."[1] Now were it to please that same divine Being to visit thus, in visible form, the haunts of men, and seat Himself at table, where most congenial to his meek heart; we are simple enough to believe that He would be more naturally to be expected in that very refectory of St. Francis's *Carceri*, yet existing in that cloven

[1] John xxi. 12.

Apennine, near Asisi, where the same poverty and frugality are still practised, than in the midst of a clerical party, in the combination-room of any University college.

It may perhaps be said, that our parallel is unfair. But we are driven to it, by the absence from the "pure and apostolic branch of the Church established in this country" of anything more likely, *à priori*, to bear analogy with our Saviour's repasts among His apostles. And we cannot forbear remarking, how, in every Catholic community, the presence of Christ instructing His disciples, at their common table, is imitated by the reading of Scripture during meals; a practice, we believe, confined to our "unscriptural" and "Scripture-hating" Church.

But our main purpose hitherto has been to show, how this maligned, but only faithful Spouse, has alone read her Lord's poverty as a practical lesson, has artlessly believed that it was not a chance but a choice, has unaffectedly deemed it a virtue, has found it a key to many otherwise locked-up treasures, a way rugged and steep over Calvary to Thabor. And this poverty of Christ, our Saviour, may be well put at the head of His actions, as ruling, modifying, and colouring them all, from His cradle to His cross.

It is not, of course, our intention, or we might properly say, our presumption, to go over even the principal actions of that life. We will only cull out a few, and we must premise that our selection will not be systematic; only we shall begin with the beginning, and choose classes or groups of actions, in preference to single acts. In the early period of the divine life on earth, we have necessarily to contemplate the influence which it had upon another person, inferior indeed by far, but nearer to Him of whom we speak

than any other created being. A Catholic at once understands us to mean His Blessed Mother.

II. Now it has appeared to us, when contemplating the early scenes of the gospel history, that her place has been far from duly considered, with reference to questions controversially agitated. It is true that the Catholic attaches importance to all recorded concerning her in the Gospel; and finds there proofs incontestable of her virtue, her dignity, her privileges, and her influence, or rather power. The Protestant is, on the contrary, prone to depress, to extenuate, to disattach importance from, all that relates to her; nay, he seeks to overlook it all, as merely secondary, casual, and almost dangerous. Now it is surely important, and it can hardly fail to be interesting, to ascertain what place is appointed to her by the Word, and the Spirit, of God, in the twofold economy, of faith, and of grace. In the earlier part of gospel history we must look for our answer.

1. We shall, perhaps, a little weary our readers by the course of remarks through which we must beg to lead them. They will contain nothing new, and nothing very brilliant.

It is clear that the historical books of the New Testament present a twofold aspect, as trustworthy, and as inspired, compositions. Their writers used every human industry and pains, to record what they believed and knew to be true; and the Divine Spirit superintended, guided, secured from smallest error, and sealed the work which He Himself had suggested to the writer's mind. There were two excellent reasons, among others, for this mode of dealing. First, those books had to go forth and be examined by men who were unbelievers, and before whom their authors came merely as honest, accurate, and credible historians. They were

to be received by Pagan and Jew, and later by sceptic and sophist, antecedently to any recognition of their inspiration. They were to be submitted to all the tests of human ingenuity, and even malice; put on the rack; compared with every other sort of document; tried by geography, physics, history, morals; examined by every possible light, heathen, rabbinical, Gnostic, Jewish; tortured philologically in every member of every sentence. Then the character of each writer was to be investigated; when he lived and where; what were his means of knowing; what his right to speak; what his language, his dialect, his idioms, his peculiar turn of thought; what his object and purpose, and what his mode of attaining it; what his interest, his gain, his loss, his chances. In fact, men who were called upon to give up everything that human nature hugs, and evil passions stick to, on the strength of certain most extraordinary facts related by what seemed very ordinary people, were not likely to do so upon a claim of inspiration, but would search into the evidence of the facts, through the credibility of their vouchers, with the sharp scrutiny of a repugnant mind. Now this inquiry must be exercised on the varied elements of a human truth. The earthly author must appear, if not in his infirmities, at least in his peculiarities, to lend a grasp to the eager searcher. Where there are no veins, no grain, no colour, no separable ingredients, no penetrable point, investigation is hopeless. Hence every defender of the Gospels, from the beginning of the Church till now, has laid hold of those coincidences with, or approximations to, other writers, which proved humanly the perfect veracity of the inspired penmen; and even minute research has been employed, to discover apparently trifling corroborations of particular statements.

Let the reader but look at the first sentence of Dr. Lardner's "Credibility," and he will see how an able Protestant vindicator of the New Testament undertakes what we have described. The same course is pursued by Catholics, enforcing the credibility of the gospel history against unbelievers.[k]

A second reason for this economy is that of its becomingness. The gift of inspiration could not be supposed to be bestowed on negligent or careless writers. We cannot well imagine a consciousness of inspiration (we do not speak of vision or revelation) in one who had witnessed facts, superseding all care or effort, accurately to remember what he had witnessed. He did his best to render himself worthy of the marvellous gift, by his own thoughtful and diligent application to the task. He wrote as conscientiously, and with as anxious a desire to give the truth, as though he had no guarantee against error.

The result is, consequently, as we have remarked, a double aspect under which the evangelical records present themselves. First, they will bear the strictest scrutiny as histories, antecedent to all proof of revelation; so as to compel the acknowledgment of the facts contained in them—facts which form the basis of Christianity. And this secures moral certainty to one previously an unbeliever. Secondly, they have on them the sacred and divine stamp of inspiration, of which no sufficient evidence can exist out of the Catholic Church; and this furnishes them with supernatural authority, making them be believed no longer with a human, but with a divine, faith. The one

[k] Every course of theology will show this. *E. g.* Perrone, tom. i. cap. iv. pr. i.; tom. ix. par. ii. sect. i. c. i. pr. iii., where the usual arguments for credibility are brought forward.

makes them credible, the other infallible; the one true, the other certain.

But the surest proof that the first character pervades the gospel history is, the appeal made by the writers themselves to the usual grounds of credibility. These are of two classes. St. John claims the rights of the first—that of an eye and ear-witness. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life (for the Life was manifested, and we have seen, and do bear witness, and declare unto you the Life eternal, which was with the Father, and hath appeared to us); that which we have seen and have heard, we declare unto you."[l] Again, of the mysterious flow of blood and water from Christ's side: "And he that saw it hath given testimony; and his testimony is true."[m] And at the close of his gospel: "This is the disciple that giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things."[n] St. Luke contents himself with being evidence of the second class, as the accurate recorder of events carefully collected from first witnesses. "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand, to set forth in order a narration of the things which have been accomplished among us, according *as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word;* it seemed good to me also, *having diligently attained to all things from the beginning,* to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus."[o]

And, in fact, if we diligently peruse the Gospels, we shall perhaps be surprised to find, how few events are

[l] 1 John i. 1.
[m] John xix. 33.
[n] John xxi. 24.
[o] Luke i. 1—3.

recorded, of which the knowledge could not have come from human testimony. The prayer in the garden, which was unwitnessed by man, and the first moments of the resurrection, perhaps form the only exceptions; but they can, and may, be supposed to have been communicated by Him, whose testimony infinitely transcends that of man.

We may seem to have made a long digression, or to have taken a circuitous path to our purpose. *It is* indeed so. But we have gained these two points: first, that the chain of evidence, whereby the great Christian system is mainly sustained, must be unexceptionable as to strength, decision, and completeness, without a flaw or imperfection; and secondly, that the divine inspiration confirms and sanctions the solidity and fitness of every link. Hence arises the high position of evangelist in the order of saints. St. John is styled "the Evangelist," in preference to "the Apostle," because the first title is a distinctive beyond the second. And no small portion of the apostles' glory consists in their having been chosen witnesses of our Blessed Lord's actions, to manifest them to the world; whence St. Paul hesitates not to say, that we are of God's household, because we are "built upon the foundation" (that is, the testimony) "of the apostles and prophets."[p]

But whatever may have been the importance of the facts or events to which they were called to be witnesses, there was one of more importance than them all, one which is the very ground-work of the Christian dispensation, without the certainty of which the entire system falls to pieces. This is the mystery of the Incarnation, as accomplished upon earth. To this God willed that there should be only one witness; of

[p] Ephes. ii. 20.

all its holiest details one sole evidence. "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand,"[q] except the Word of words, the Incarnate Word. This must stand attested to the world for ever by only one witness,—and that was Mary, the ever blessed. Who could tell that Gabriel came from heaven, and brought her, from the Eternal Father, message? Who, that she was alarmed at his greeting? Who, that she hesitated to accept the proposed prerogative of a divine maternity, at its imagined price? Who, that he manifested the fulness of the gift, and the miraculous agency by which it had to be accomplished? Who, her virginal consent, and its concurrent effect, the Mystery of life, the Emanuel in existence, a God-man in being? Only she, the chosen, exclusive partaker, on earth, of the most hidden counsels of the Almighty.

Now, first, take away her contribution to the gospel testimony, efface her testimony to Christianity, and you find not simply a link broken, but the very fastening of the whole chain wanting; not merely a gap, or a break, made in the structure, but the foundation gone. In the laws of belief on testimony, what elsewhere appears unnatural is true. If you want to make a structure look unsafe, you represent it as a pyramid resting on its point. Yet where the number of believers increases at each generation, from the first source of evidence, it is clear, that a diagram representing this fact, and the unity of derivation of the truth believed, would present this very form. Now here the belief in the wonders wrought in the Incarnation, of ages and of the world, rests upon one point of testimony, a unit, a single voice—that of the B. Virgin Mary.

[q] Matt. xviii. 16.

Again we say, cancel her testimony, and what becomes of all other witnesses? Had she not let out the secrets of her breast, or in higher truth, had not God's Spirit moved her, as He moved the Evangelists, not to collect, indeed, but to scatter, not to inquire, but to teach; had He not thus made her the Evangelist of the Evangelists, and the Apostle to Apostles; had not that same divine influence, which overcame her first reluctance of purity, prevailed over her second unwillingness, from humility (of which we shall treat later), and compelled her to speak; the whole tale of love, which fills the holiest of histories, would have wanted, not only its tenderest and most affecting beginning, but the very root from which its loveliness and beauty spring, to circulate through it all. We should have read with wonder the account of miracles most amazing, and discourses most admirable, and virtues most divine; but it would have been difficult for us to separate, in our minds, this narrative from what we attribute to prophets or patriarchs, had not the clear, and most sweet, and consoling record of our Lord's appearance on earth been preserved for us, so as totally to segregate Him from the very highest orders of holiness, and make Him even here "higher than the heavens." And let it be remarked too, that even the principal circumstances of our Saviour's Nativity and early life rest exclusively upon the same evidence. When St. Luke collected his narrative from those who had been witnesses from the beginning, Joseph was long departed, and so were Zachary and Elizabeth, as well as Simeon and Anna. She only who laid up all that happened in her mother's heart,[r] survived, witness of the journey to Bethlehem and of the flight into Egypt, of the angelic messages which

[r] Luke ii. 19, 51.

accompanied these events, and of the presentation in the temple. Who else had retained in memory the words so admirable, and so important to us, of Elizabeth and of Zachary; above all, that canticle of dearest interest to the Church for ever, her unfailing evening hymn, the *Magnificat?* It is a treasury, the mother's bosom, at once capacious and retentive, in which can be secured words and deeds that have passed from every other mind. And so when, after forty years, the early life of our Redeemer is inquired into, there remains one faithful and most loving witness, to give proof of what ennobled, ratified, and stamped with divine evidence, every action and every word of His after-life. Mary alone supplied the testimony to His miraculous conception and birth, and to the fulfilment of the prophecies in her pure virginal being.

But we may go further. So completely had these wonderful occurrences been concealed, so well had "the secret of the King been hidden,"[s] that when our Lord came before the public, its uncontradicted opinion pronounced Him to be Joseph's son, "being, as it was supposed, the son of Joseph."[t] And the people hesitated not to say in His own very country, "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude; and his sisters are they not all with us?"[u] And again they said, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then, saith he, I came down from heaven?"[x] Here were valid elements of human evidence, a strong foundation for historical assertion. Had any one gone into the very country and neighbourhood where Jesus had lived, to inquire into His

[s] Tob. xii. 7.
[t] Luke iii. 23.
[u] Matt. xiii. 55.
[x] John vi. 42.

early history, he would have found concurrent testimony that He was "the carpenter's son." The espousals of Mary with him, would have been quoted, as well as their enrolment in Augustus's census. Public repute,—that is, the testimony of thousands, might have been powerfully alleged. And against all its authority, what have we to oppose? The simple assertion of Mary. So high, so sacred, so undoubted is her word, that to the Christians of all ages it has sufficed to counterbalance every other source of information. Surely, then, her place is the very first in the order of Gospel evidences, and so in the economy of faith.

Let us again consider, what gives her this position. When an apologist, as writers on the evidences are most unbecomingly called, wishes to establish the claims of the Evangelists to our credit, antecedent to the proof of inspiration, he justly insists upon what they did and suffered, to demonstrate their sincerity. We are most rightly shown, how every interest was surrendered, every dearest affection sacrificed, prospects, comfort, home, friends, family; how every suffering was incurred, every hardship courted, from the discomfort of an uncertain life, to the extremity of certain death; and who, it is powerfully asked, would act thus without firm conviction, and on behalf of anything but truth? And further appeal is justly made to the wonders which they themselves wrought, and the supernatural gifts which they displayed, in attestation of their truthfulness. Now, all this being most true, let us see how it influences our idea of the character of God's blessed Mother. Long before the three first gospels were written, very long before the last of them was penned, the Apostles had given their testimony to the whole world,—"their sound had gone

forth into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world."[y] Some of them had even sealed their doctrine with their blood. And there may have been some who, like Thomas in India, or Bartholomew in Armenia, never used the written word, to teach Christianity. And no doubt each of them spoke as a witness of the Resurrection, and other miracles. But they were just as ready to die for the truth of much which they had not seen,—for the certainty of the virginal conception of Mary, and the marvels of the Nativity. They indeed had divine internal conviction of all these facts; but they preached them to the heathen and Jewish world, as witnesses. They would claim therefore the same credit and authority for what they taught on Mary's testimony, as for what they had witnessed with their own eyes. And if any one asked them what motives of credibility they could give for her witnessing, they would indeed necessarily be of a nature totally different from any other. To her were granted no miraculous powers, no supernatural gifts. To her was not accorded the rougher evidence of apostolic trial and suffering. No prison, no rack, no sword, save that of grief, is her appointed lot. How could it have been otherwise? She lives in quiet; she dies in peace. She had everything to *gain* by her testimony; it secured to her the sublime, unrivalled position of God's Mother. What then was the corroboration of *her* testimony, which an apostle would allege? Her spotless innocence, her heroic fortitude, her unfailing sweetness, her peerless holiness; in one word, her matchless virtue. But further, her participation in all the evidences of her Son's mission. Every prophecy which He uttered, every heavenly doctrine which He preached, every miracle

[y] Ps. xviii. 5.

which he wrought, every grace which he displayed, was witnessing to her, every time He called her His mother. Whatever proved to the world who He was, showed it equally what she was. Every work which demonstrated Him to be the Son of God, proved her irrefragably to be the Mother of God. "Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quæ suxisti,"[z] was the natural expression of feeling regarding both. It was a contradiction of reason, and a blasphemy against God, to suppose that she was not worthy of her high dignity, her awful relationship, or rather her appointed office, in the scheme of man's Redemption.

Such was the ground of credibility accorded to her testimony; one superior far to what was given to any of the apostles. Let us then imagine the "glorious choir" of these holy men, about to spread over the whole earth to preach the Gospel, and collecting together the great facts, which they must proclaim, as the basis of their doctrine, and to which they must bear witness, even by the shedding of their blood. There is as yet no written word of the New Law; and this meeting is therefore the very first source of universal teaching. Each one comes to pour into the common fountain his jealously-guarded store, thence to well forth, and flow unfailingly, as the stream of tradition through the Church—the life-bearing river of the earthly paradise. Some bring less, and some more: while those who have been born after time, into the faith, receive almost with jealousy, what into their eager ears, by the more favoured ones, is poured. John and his brother and Peter attest the anticipation of celestial glory on Thabor. The first of these alone can recount, while others hang down their heads and blush, what took place on Calvary, and on its rood:

[z] Luke xi. 27.

and the last bears witness against himself, of his triple denial in the high priest's hall. Nicodemus has a hidden treasure which he brings out, in the mysterious conference that he held with Jesus; and Magdalen may be the only one to tell the history of her forgiveness. But when each one has contributed his all, miracles, and parables, and gracious words, and wisest discourse, and splendid acts, they have but furnished materials for a history of three years of a life of three-and-thirty. Where do the remaining thirty lie hidden? Who holds their annals? Who is the rich treasurer of that golden heap, of blessed words and acts divine? One, only one. Let her be entreated to enrich the world by participation of her recondite knowledge. She comes to pour, into the bright waters that flow from the apostolic fount, the virginal cruse which, Queen of wise virgins, she treasures in her bosom. Yea truly, and the lamp which *it* feeds cannot be extinguished. A few drops indeed only will she give; for by those thirty years it may be said, that she mainly was intended to profit; they were *her* school of perfection. But every single drop is most precious—is as a peerless and priceless pearl. "Oleum effusum nomen tuum."[a] The very name of JESUS, that name of blessing and salvation, she makes known as a divine revelation to her, and with it all the promises of what He should, under it, accomplish, and the proclamation of what, by it, He was declared. While apostles surrounded Him to witness His wonderful works, while multitudes pressed in admiration to listen to Him, she hung, at times, on the skirt of the crowd, or stood outside the door, the solicitous, because loving, mother. But the maternal heart naturally flies back to the days of infancy, which are

[a] Cant. i. 2.

there laid up in vivid recollection. The woman will most gladly remember the hour of her purest joy; when she rejoiced that a man was born into the world.[b] What then, if He was, the "Wonderful, God the Mighty."[c] And such are the precious, and most soothing manifestations which Mary will make, for the comfort of devout souls, even to the end of the world. She will lay the very groundwork of the evangelical narrative. Whatever gratitude the Church bears towards the collectors and preservers of our first sacred records, is due in signal manner to her. Whatever of credibility, authority, and truthfulness is warranted by Christian belief, to the witnesses of what constitutes the basis of faith, must be peculiarly extended to her. Nor may we doubt the justness of her title in the Church—REGINA APOSTOLORUM.

This our obligation is further enhanced by a consideration to which we have alluded, and which has often struck us in reflecting on a passage in the Gospel. May we be allowed to add, that its beauty, as well as its importance, seems to us to have been much overlooked. From Matt. i. 18—24, it is clear that the angel's visit to the B. Virgin was by her completely concealed. This would have seemed almost impossible. It was a subject for the purest, yet intensest, joy; for an exultation of spirit that would beam forth from every feature, would quiver on the lips, betray itself by involuntary gestures of bliss. Then to be so exalted, and not show consciousness of it; to be raised above every attainable dignity, to find oneself become the theme of prophecy, the fulfilment of types, the term of the Old Law, the dawn of the new day, the mother of the world's life, in one word, the Mother of God, and not, by look, or word, hint it; to be as

[b] John xvi. 21. [c] Is. ix. 6.

calm, as simple, as natural, the next time she spoke with Joseph, as if nothing had occurred; this gives us a truer estimate of the beauty and perfection of her character, than almost anything else that is on record. And further, that naturally foreseeing or knowing, as time went on, Joseph's tormenting perplexity, she should have preferred to bear its pain—the most grievous possible to her pure and affectionate heart, to a manifestation of her lofty privileges, and heavenly maternity, proves both a humility without parallel, and a confidence in God's providence worthy of it. But now, is it rash to say, that if even such strong motives as were here presented did not suffice to overcome her humble modesty, and induce her to manifest her hidden glory, there must have been a reason stronger still, to influence her, when afterwards she gave minute details of Gabriel's interview, and the circumstances of the divine Incarnation? And this will be supplied by the same power which impelled St. John, in extreme old age, to record his remembrances of our Lord's discourses; the Holy Spirit's prompting to a work important for our instruction, and so for our salvation.

And now we may ask, is there anything exaggerated, unnatural, or repugnant to God's word, in the view which we have taken of the B. Virgin's place in the economy of faith? We feel sure there is not. We have then only further to ask, is this her position one in accordance with Protestant ideas, or Protestant affections? Would it suit the pulpit or the pen of Anglican or Dissenter, Lutheran or Calvinist? Would it be tolerated even as a speculative thesis in a Protestant university, or be proposed as a theme for devout meditation by a high-church director? Take the whole range of heretical feelings towards the Mother

of the Incarnate Word, from brutish abhorrence (we blush to write it), to formal indifference, and see where her claims will fit in. But to a Catholic such a position is at once natural and acceptable. He greets with joy whatever tends to enhance her merits, or increase her praise. He recognises her as a being placed above his power of adequately doing justice to either. It is gratifying, therefore, and consoling to him to learn, even though it may not have struck him before, that the ever holy Virgin Mother of God holds a high, or the highest, place, in any relation which binds her, on the one side, to the merciful counsels of God, and, on the other, to those for whom they are decreed.

2. And now let us proceed to inquire, what place those early records of our dear Saviour's life assign to His Parent in the order of grace. That she was full of grace when she was chosen by God for that high dignity, we have an angel's word.[a] That the inpouring of all grace into the already full vessel, by the incarnation itself, made it overflow, who can doubt? We have only to examine what happened, on the first occasion of proof, to satisfy ourselves of this.

There must have been particular reasons, as we have before suggested, for the selection of any given gospel history from the abundance withheld; and, therefore, it is no presumption to believe, that one of the most remarkable and profitable events, succeeding the incarnation, was the visitation of Mary to Elizabeth. Simply read, it is a touching record. The humble condescension of that now sovereign lady towards her aged relative, in travelling into the mountains to congratulate with her, on her miraculous conception, and the lowliness of respect and veneration

[a] Luke i. 28.

with which her greeting was received, and the breaking out from Mary's holy lips, of her first and last recorded canticle and prophecy, render this meeting remarkable in the eyes of the most superficial reader. Catholic meditation will go deeper than this. Gabriel's was the first salutation of Mary, Elizabeth's the second; and in the Church's both are united and fit together, and are riveted as naturally, as we are told the chains of Peter at Jerusalem and at Rome were, when brought into contact. "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb!" This might have been all spoken by one, so well do all its parts cohere. And what wonder? An archangel sent from God, and a matron filled with the Holy Ghost, are but different instruments moved by the same breath, and must sound in perfect harmony. And hence Elizabeth is the second, external witness of the incarnation, receiving knowledge of that marvellous mystery from the Spirit of God. What a full and overpowering sense of its grandeur, and of the dignity of Mary, do not her words convey? "Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me? and blessed art thou who hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord."[e] Suppose, three months before, it had been announced to Elizabeth that her relation Mary had come to see her, would it have appeared to her anything astonishing? She was the elder by many years, and her husband was a priest of high rank: could it have been thought a wonderful favour, an unexpected condescension, that the young maiden, betrothed to a carpenter, and their relation, should come to pay them both a visit? But Zachary, more-

[e] Vv. 43—45.

over, had been favoured by an angel's visit, a rare honour in those days, when the direct word of God had become precious, as in the time of Heli.[f] And let us observe, as we pass, that the respective positions of Zachary and Joseph, in relation to Elizabeth and Mary, are definitely distinguished by the difference of the two annunciations. In the first, the archangel Gabriel appears, and conveys the tidings of a son to the future father; in the second, he brings his message only to the immediate mother. But to return, Elizabeth, too, had been blest by a miraculous gift, of a child in her old age, of a child pre-described by the greatest of the prophets. In the order of grace, therefore, both had been signally ennobled. How much more sublime must the position of the B. Virgin have appeared to them, how much superior her rank, that her coming to them should have been, to their minds, as a royal visit, of which they could not, in any way, consider themselves worthy? Nor must it be forgotten that the expression of these sentiments proceeded not merely from a personal conviction, but from the Holy Spirit, who spake through Elizabeth. The words which she uses are worthy of special note. "Whence is this to me?" In other words, "What have I, or what am I, that such an honour should be conferred upon me? However favoured I may have been myself, however honoured by God's choice, and God's blessing, the distance between me and thee is so immense, that I cannot account for this act of kindness." Then how does she describe it? "That the mother of my Lord should come to me?" She was indeed the mother of the Precursor; Mary, of her, and his, Lord. Her son was to close the Old Testament (for "until John was

[f] 1 Reg. iii. 1.

the law"[g]), Mary's was to give and ratify the New; John was to be the sealer of prophecy, Jesus its fulfilment; John was the herald, Jesus the King. But the words "my Lord" recall to our minds a similar expression, where the two ideas of the Messiahship and the Godhead are united. "The Lord said to *my Lord*," as spoken by David, and explained in this sense by Christ Himself:[h] "*My Lord* and my God," as similarly applied by St. Thomas.[i] Elizabeth, then, the woman "just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord without blame;"[k] Elizabeth, the mother of the "greatest who rose born of woman,"[l] given to her miraculously; Elizabeth, in fine, the inspired of the Holy Ghost, here assigns to Mary a place immeasurably superior to her own: in virtue of her prerogative as the mother of the incarnate Word, the Saviour of the world, the only begotten of God the Father.

We may pause to ask with whose belief about the B. Virgin does this feeling of Elizabeth agree—with that of Catholics or with that of Protestants? The latter, as we are told in a most important work just published,[m] consider her as "a good woman," perhaps a holy one. But with the exception of a few more ultra high-churchmen, none are prepared to exalt her so completely, by right of her prerogative, above every other order of sanctity, even that which the word of God has pronounced "without blame." In the Catholic system, on the contrary, no one will deny, that this superiority is not a matter of opinion, but one of universal belief; not a sentiment, but a doctrine. And it is assigned on the same ground as it is

[g] Luke xvi. 16. [h] Ps. cix. 1; Luke xx. 42.
[i] John xx. 28. [k] Luke i. 6. [l] Matt. xi. 11.
[m] "Jesus and Mary." By the Rev. J. B. Morris. Vol. i. p. 345.

by Elizabeth,—the incommunicable privilege of the divine maternity.

But all that we have said goes no further than allotting to the B. Virgin the highest place in the order of grace; whereas we have to inquire what is her relation to the economy, or dispensation, of grace. For we have remarked, that the Visitation is a fair test of this. If any Catholic sentiment, respecting her, give particular offence to the Protestant mind, it is one which forms the basis of confidence in our devotion towards her: that it pleases God to make her the channel of great spiritual graces. In reality, there is nothing very unnatural in the idea, when one considers that it pleased Him to give, through her, to the world, the Grace of graces, the very Fountain of every good gift. While the ordinary laws of nature were so overruled, as that she alone should have a part in this god-like work, they were so preserved, as that her share should be real and complete. She was the only being ever created, from whom God at any time received, or took, anything. And it was that humanity thus derived in truth from her,[n] that, united with the divinity, in one person, but two natures, was the ransom of man, and the source of salvation and grace. After this, can it be wonderful, if by the same means are dispensed the fruit of that first and divine Gift? But let us see how it was in the Visitation.

Elizabeth thus addressed our Blessed Lady: "For behold, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy."[o] It has been the unfailing tradition of the Church, attested, with perhaps one exception, by every father, that, in that instant, the Baptist was cleansed from

[n] "Misit Deus Filium suum, *factum ex muliere*."—Gal. iv. 4.

[o] Luke i. 44.

original sin, and sanctified in his mother's womb.[p] In fact, it would be repugnant to imagine consciousness of his Redeemer's presence so prematurely granted him, and a joyful recognition of Him made, without this boon. For the very knowledge, thus miraculously communicated, would imply conviction of sin, whereof He was the Redeemer; and this could only inflict pain, unless accompanied by immediate removal of what estranged one from the other. The joy attendant on the consciousness reveals that this took place.

St. John was thus purged and hallowed in the womb; this was a fruit of redemption, and, in fact, its essential result. To purchase for us forgiveness of sin, to reverse the original curse, and make us once more children of God, and heirs of His kingdom, were the great objects which brought down the Word from the bosom of His Father. Not only was this purification of John, before birth, a fruit of Redemption, but it may be well considered the first act of our Saviour's life, in application of His atonement. It was indeed meet that His very first recorded action, being yet unborn, should be the forgiveness of a sinner. It was no less becoming that this first deed of mercy and grace—the forerunner of so many similar ones, should be performed in favour of the Precursor; the theme of whose preaching, the burthen of whose prophetic song may well be supposed to have been taught him now: "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!"

Now through whose instrumentality was this first act of graciousness performed, this first application of the fruits of redemption made? There was nothing to prevent its taking place silently. Jeremias was not

[p] See the proofs collected in the work referred to, "Jesus the Son of Mary," vol. i. p. 378.

made aware till his mission commenced, that he had received consecration before birth.[q] But in this instance, God was pleased to employ an outward agency, and we are told what it was. It was the voice, the word of His mother. As soon as the voice of her salutation sounded in Elizabeth's ears, so soon, and no sooner, does the act of mercy take place. Had that salutation been anticipated or delayed, by her will, the prophet's liberation would have come sooner or later. Her word of greeting was the sentence of his forgiveness. The pardon was our Lord's alone, the grace His, the love His; but the conveyance of them all was left to her; she transmitted pardon, grace, and love to the exulting prisoner.

This gives us then the place assigned, by the early records of our Lord's life, to His most blessed Mother, in the economy of grace. It makes her the dispenser of the very first grace which He bestowed after His incarnation; a grace of the most sublime order, in favour of his dearest saint, the friend of the bridegroom. Now let us take, in conjunction with this remarkable fact, another, and a parallel one. We mean the performance of Christ's first miracle at Cana. From St. John's account it is evident, that our Lord performed it in obedience to His Mother, and even anticipated His appointed hour for her sake: "My hour is not yet come." Heedless of this protest, she feels confident that He will grant her request, and orders the servants to make preparations for the miracle.[r] Again we have the same principle acted upon. The first temporal grace, though it required a miracle, and that miracle involved departure from a predetermined plan, was for her, at her request,

[q] Jer. i. 5. [r] John ii. 4, 5.

through her means. The wine would never have been obtained, had she not interposed.

We may, perhaps, discover in all this a further relation between Mary and the dispensation of grace. The Baptist's sanctification was *his* mystical baptism, an anticipation, by special favour to him, of what other souls were to receive through the ordinance which he had to announce—the baptism of water and the Holy Ghost. The transmutation at Cana was the symbol, and the illustration, of a more wonderful change, in the Eucharistic wedding-feast. Each of these preliminary and preparatory demonstrations of power was made through the instrumentality of the Blessed Mary. Is this surprising? She was the *aurora consurgens*, the beautiful dawn of the glorious Sun of salvation. And does not the morning's brightness transmit to earth the first rays, the light, the warmth, the colour, the glow, the radiance of the great Orb, before he shows himself? Do not all these cheering qualities and appearances belong to him, yet do they not reach us even before himself, through a medium through which he diffuses them? Then let us not wonder (what Catholic *can* wonder?) that She in whom, and by whom, the Son of God would have Himself brought into the world, as she came before Him to announce Him, should also have gone before Him to make known, and anticipate in symbols of incomparable beauty, the two great sacraments by which Redemption would bear the fruits of adoption in the world.

Our divine Master's actions, as we have before now remarked, were never purposeless. They give us principles and analogies which cannot deceive us. His first action especially, in a given case, may be supposed to lay down a rule. Thus we are told how He

called His first disciples—Peter and Andrew, the sons of Zebedee, and Matthew. It was by a command to leave all and follow Him. We do not doubt, though not informed of it, that every other apostle was called on the same terms. We find how He treated Magdalen, and the woman accused before Him; and nothing would induce us to believe that He ever showed Himself austere or unforgiving. Nay, one action of our Lord suffices to give a certain law. For instance, could we doubt, after seeing His conduct at Cana, that had His blessed Mother, at any subsequent period of His life, asked Him for any other similar favour, or exercise of power, He would have refused it? The common sense of analogy forbids us to think so, with an *a fortiori* power; for it would have been much less to ask for a miracle when thousands were being performed, than to ask and obtain a first, and, in some sense, a premature, one.

Again, this argument of analogy, or precedent, carries the Church always beyond this life. It is not necessary to enter upon any elaborate reasoning on this subject, but we may illustrate it by one or two examples. We assign to the apostles their place in the celestial court, by that which they occupied, in relation to our Saviour, on earth. We do not compare their actions with those of others, and award relative merit accordingly. We do not consider whether St. Francis Xavier, or St. Boniface, may not have laboured more, or converted more to Christianity, than St. James, whom Herod slew, so early as the year 42.[s] We do not even give them rank by reason of their martyrdom; for St. John, who was not allowed to lay down his life for Christ, holds his pre-eminence as an apostle far above all martyrs; nor would it make any

[s] Acts xii. 2.

difference in the place of any apostle, could it be proved that he did not die for the faith. Why this? Because our Lord, by his mere choice of the twelve to be His companions, and by the high commission, and the powers which He bestowed on them, assigned them a position above every other class of saints, and this we believe to be continued to them in heaven. Again, Magdalen and Martha were sisters. The second preserved to the end of life an unblemished character, and is honoured by the Church among her holy virgins. She follows the Lamb in heaven whithersoever He goeth. Her sister has not this privilege; she is a saint only as a penitent. Yet the Church bestows upon Magdalen her higher honours, and gives to Martha an inferior reverence.[t] Wherefore the difference? Simply because on earth our Redeemer, by His conduct, gave her this rule. It was clear that He granted precedence to the ardent penitent, whose love and tears had blotted out every trace of guilt, before her more faultless, but less fervent, sister. It was really the parable of the Prodigal in action; the blameless son who had never left home, saw the best garment prepared, and the fatted calf killed, for his wandering, but rescued brother.

If then there be truth in all the foregoing remarks, we come to the following conclusions: That, firstly, it pleased our Saviour to make His dear Mother His instrument in the first conveyance of the highest grace, and of the first fruit of redemption, after He came on earth; secondly, and similarly, He made her the first cause and motive in the exercise of His bene-

[t] The Feast of St. Mary Magdalen is a double, that of St. Martha only a semi-double. To the first is also accorded the Nicene Creed in the Mass; which is not read in that of any other female saint except the B. Virgin.

ficial miraculous powers, in favour of men; thirdly, His conduct being always a principle or rule, we may deduce, that on other similar occasions, He would have allowed her a similar privilege or right; and, fourthly, this argument of analogy does not end with His life, but gives the Church a just ground of belief and action, after both He and His Mother have been reunited in heaven. So far, then, from there being any strangeness, or impropriety, in considering the B. Virgin to be an ordinary channel of grace, and that of the highest order, such a view of her position seems borne out by our Lord's conduct, interpreted by the usual rules which we apply to it. This reasoning places our B. Lady, in the economy of grace, in the same position which we have seen her occupy in the economy of faith. She stands immediately next to her divine Son, above every other created being.

For if we compare her power even with that of the apostles, we shall find it of a different, and a superior, character. They had in all fulness a double gift; the sacramental energy in its completest development, and a miraculous command over nature and its laws. The first was surely not comparable to the conveying directly saving virtue, from the Son of God in her womb, to the Precursor in Elizabeth's; thereby not only cleansing him from original sin, but probably arming him with immunity against actual transgression, sanctifying him for his high calling and spotless life. And who will surmise that it was a higher gift to hold the delegated power of working miracles from her Son, than to have obedience owned by Him who communicated it, and to possess the acknowledged subjection of Himself and all His gifts? The meaning of the words, "Et erat subditus eis,"[u]

[u] "And He was subject to them."

came out to its full extent, in the act which closed the hidden life of Jesus, the miracle of Cana.

III. When we advance into the active life of the Word incarnate, every action speaks; and our difficulty is, out of so much that is admirable, what to choose as most excelling. We will take, therefore, as an illustration of our principles, a series of actions which, separately, may appear indifferent, but collectively afford a meaning too striking to be accidental, and yet only fitting into the Catholic system.

Our Lord selected his principal apostles from among the fishermen of the Sea of Galilee. The particular call of four is especially described, of the brothers Peter and Andrew,[x] and the two sons of Zebedee.[y] Thomas also and Nathanael, supposed to be the same as Bartholomew, were of the same profession.[z] The reasons for this selection do not enter into our present subject; though they are not without their interest and importance. But the choice once made, it is evident that our Saviour associated Himself to His apostles in their mode of life, and made use of it for His holiest purposes. A great part of the first year of His public life was passed on the borders of the Sea of Tiberias or Galilee; and He took advantage of His apostles' skill, and familiarity with the coast, to move from place to place. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth chapters of St. Mark will show how the fishermen's boat was almost His home.[a] It was His place of sleep,[b] the pulpit from which He addressed the people,[c] His refuge in fatigue.[d] Now, connected with this frequent use of the boat, are several remarkable passages of His life, which, apart from their

[x] Matt. iv. 18. [y] Ib. 21. [z] John xxi. 2.
[a] Mark iv. 35; v. 2, 18, 21; vi. 32, 54; viii. 10—14.
[b] Ib. iv. 38. [c] Luke v. 3. [d] Mark vi. 32.

miraculous character, present importantly instructive features. Indeed it may not be superfluous to remark, that in some of our blessed Redeemer's acts, the miracle may be considered as secondary: that is, we may contemplate the action independently of any miracle which accompanied it, and find that what was wonderful was only subservient to a lesson, inculcated by the action itself. Perhaps the instances on which we are going to dilate will afford the best illustration of this principle.

That our Saviour Himself saw, and consequently designed, an analogy between the apostle's and the fisherman's occupation, He Himself has deigned to inform us: "I will make you fishers of men;"[e] or, "from henceforth thou shalt catch men,"[f] were His words, naturally suggestive of the parallel. But besides this very natural analogy, there were surely others, which must be considered most apt, in another view. What more like the Church, launched on the sea of this world, and, freighted with a heavenly burthen, borne forwards towards a sure harbour, than the vessel laden with apostles, and bearing their Lord, lashed by the angry billows, and buffeted by the raging blast, tossed, shaken, distressed, almost broken, yet holding on her good course, and riding fearless over the wave, and through the storm? So natural is this comparison, that it has ceased to be one. The "nave," or "ship," of the material church is no longer so in simile; and it is scarcely an allegory to describe the visible, yet spiritual, Church, as a ship in which Christ is pilot, or, as the Catholic would call it, as "the bark of Peter." From the rude galley carved on the oldest monumental slabs in the catacombs, to Giotto's mosaic over the inner gate of St. Peter's, or

[e] Matt. iv. 19. [f] Luke v. 10.

Raffaele's miraculous draught of fishes, the symbol has been continued, till a very child in the Church can comprehend it.

But wherefore *Peter's* boat? This it is that we must see. If our blessed Saviour was pleased to retire into a vessel, and travel by it, it was not a chance one picked up on the shore, but one especially chosen by Himself to attend Him. "And He spoke to His disciples, that a small ship should wait upon Him, because of the multitude, lest they should throng Him."[g] What bark was this, so privileged, and so ennobled, scene too of such wonderful works? "They that go down to the sea in ships, doing business on the great waters; these have seen the works of the Lord, and His wonders in the deep. He said the word, and there arose a storm of wind, and the waves thereof were lifted up. They were troubled, and reeled like a drunken man, and all their wisdom was swallowed up. And they cried to the Lord in their affliction, and He brought them out of their distresses. And He turned the storm into a breeze, and its waves were still. And they rejoiced because they were still; and He brought them to the haven which they wished for."[h] All this was more literally fulfilled in the fisherman's skiff on Galilee's blue waters, than ever it was in the proud merchantman on its ocean path to Ophir.

There were two boats ever keeping company on that inland sea, and they are so mentioned together, that we can have no difficulty in determining to whom they belonged. When our Lord began to call His apostles, the two vessels were close to one another; He went but a few steps from Peter's to find that of Zebedee and his sons.[i] At another time going to the lake, He "saw two ships standing by it, and going up

[g] Mark iii. 9. [h] Ps. cvi. 23. [i] Matt. iv. 18—21.

into one of the ships that was Simon's, He desired him to draw back a little from the land, and sitting, He taught the multitudes out of the ship." The other ship was Zebedee's. For having given Simon a miraculous draught of fishes, "they beckoned *to their partners, that were in the other ship*, that they should come and help them." Simon then "fell down at Jesus's knees, saying, Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was wholly astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of fishes which they had taken. And so also were James and John, the sons of Zebedee, *who were Simon's partners*. And Jesus said to Simon, Fear not, from henceforward thou shalt catch men.' "[k]

This remarkable passage leaves us no doubt on several interesting points. Two fishing-boats keep company on the Sea of Galilee. They are consorts, fishing in company; *paranze*, as they are still called on the Mediterranean. One belongs to Peter, the other to the zealous and loving brothers, the "Sons of thunder." But we are carefully told that Jesus selected the first. Such a detail was surely of no great consequence in itself; and if specified must be so emphatically. It was Simon's boat that our Redeemer chose. Of what interest was this to Theophilus, or to the Greeks, for whom St. Luke wrote, if Peter was no more than any other apostle? Surely the mention of such a circumstance implies, that it was not by accident, but by choice, that his bark was taken for His use by our Lord. And for what purpose?

First, to teach from. This favoured boat is the one from which the Divine Master instructs the multitudes.

Secondly, to bestow on Peter the earnest of his

[k] Luke v. 2—10.

future success, as the apostle of Jew and of Gentile. It is impossible to misunderstand the meaning of the allegory performed, not merely spoken. Our heavenly Lord has Himself explained it: "From henceforward thou shalt catch men, as plentifully and as marvellously as, just now, thou hast caught fishes. Thou shalt cast thy net into the vast and dark depths of the spiritual ocean, and thou shalt draw up in them safe, and lay up in thy bark, thousands, who shall bless the hour of thy capture." Nor is it possible to mistake the relative position of the parties in the scene. Peter is the chief, the actor; James and John are but his assistants and subordinates in the work. He begins it, they follow it up; he receives the Lord's gift, the blessing, the miracle; they partake of his fulness, and are enriched from his store. His stock is superabundant, his measure well shaken and running over; and they come to share it, almost to relieve him of it, as it runs over into their bosoms. And hence it is carefully added, that to Simon were Christ's words of promise exclusively addressed.

Here we have a case where the miracle is absorbed in the action. The lesson is to us more important; for the miracle is only wrought as a means to convey it. But we have another miracle perfectly analogous to this, wrought at a very different period of our Lord's earthly existence; after His resurrection. Between the two, Peter had given proof of his frailty, even of his dastardliness. John at the same time had shown himself faithful, even to the Cross. Peter, however, in company with him, his brother, and other disciples, expressed his intention of going a fishing. "They say to him, We come also with thee." Peter therefore is again at the head of the party, he is the captain of "the ship;" the rest are his mates and assistants, in

other words, his crew. They toil for the night in vain; at morning, Jesus, unrecognised by them, stands on the beach, and bids them cast their net on the right side of the vessel. Their obedience is rewarded by a magnificent draught; and Peter throws himself into the sea, to reach his Master, whom John has detected. Once more it is in favour of Peter's boat and net, that the sea is compelled to give up its prey; and what makes the occurrence more personal and pointed is, that it is immediately followed by his Lord's charge, to feed His sheep and lambs.[1] Here was the distinct fulfilment of the promise made after the first miraculous draught. Simon's humility was there rewarded by an assurance of future apostleship; Peter's penitent love is here crowned by elevation to its headship. On the first occasion, his virtuous timidity prompted him to throw himself on his knees, and entreat his Lord to depart from him a sinner; on the second his penitential ardour urged him to dash into the sea, and go straight to his forgiving Master. Thus completely is the fishing of Peter's boat, after the resurrection, the counterpart of the same action before the denial.

Jesus then taught in Peter's ship, and gave to it the power of gathering into its nets, the multitude of the deep. But it was not always to be a calm with it; storms were to assail it, even in spite of His benign presence; storms so fierce, that they who manned it were to fear, that He had forgotten them, or had forgotten His power. "And behold a great tempest arose in the sea, so that the boat was covered with waves; but He was asleep." But He soon awoke at their call; and, reproving them for their want of faith, He "commanded the winds and the sea, and there

[1] John xxi. 2—17.

came a great calm."[m] Again we may ask, whose ship was this, to which this divine favour was accorded, of stilling the storm and smoothing the sea? It is not difficult to ascertain it. We are told that, "when Jesus was come into Peter's house, He saw his wife's mother lying, and sick of a fever; and He touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she arose and ministered to them." At evening multitudes come to be healed; "and Jesus seeing great multitudes about Him, gave orders to pass the water, and when He entered into the boat, His disciples followed Him."[n] It is from Peter's house that He steps into the vessel; who can doubt that it was that apostle's? And we may observe, that our Lord acts as the master of the boat. He commands its services, as He afterwards did that of the ass for His entry into Jerusalem. "Tell him that the Lord hath need of it, and he will let it go."[o] To Peter's boat is granted this further privilege, that storms may be permitted to assail it, but not to wreck it, nor even to shatter it. The waves may dash over it, and threaten to engulf it, all may think it is about to perish, and Jesus may appear asleep, and heedless of their danger. But in good time, He wakens up, and his beaming eye is as the sun upon the billows, and His hand waves, a charm against the blast; and the rippling waters dance, rejoice, and sparkle in the light, and the soothing breeze glides playfully into the sail.

If the bark represent the Church of God, where *is* His Church? What is there that assumes the name, that has ever weathered a real storm, or rather that lives in the midst of tempests, with consciousness of a life that cannot fail, and of a vigour that cannot abate? Is it the stationary religion of the East, for

[m] Matt. viii. 24. [n] Ib. 14—23. [o] Matt. xxi. 3.

ages water-logged and motionless, in waters dead and pestilent; neither battling with them, nor assailed by them, left in unrippling, but fatal, calm; originally too well framed to fall to pieces, but stripped of mast and sail, and rolling heavily with the dull swell and fall of the element in which it happens to be embedded? For it has itself—

> "nor breath nor motion;
> As idle as a painted ship,
> Upon a painted ocean."[p]

Unhonoured by persecution, not bearing even the note of the world's hatred, the Christianity of Asia feeds its languid life upon paynim toleration, without an aspiration of hope, or an effort of charity. It sends no missionary to distant regions to pluck the palm of martyrdom; it gives to the world no Sisters of Mercy, no Brothers of Christian Doctrine, no active clergy, no learned hierarchs, no studious monks, no zealous laity. It dreams on from age to age, achieving nothing great, and yielding nothing good; adding nothing to the knowledge or experience of the past, and opening no bright destiny to the prospect of the future. It is not worth a storm, the lazy, slumbering craft. Neither has it a net to cast abroad, or to draw home. It is quite clear *this* is not Peter's boat.

Then what shall we say of a more splendid and well-laden vessel nearer home, which calls itself modestly a branch only of Christ's Church? Surely there is some stir, if not activity, about it; internal commotion, if not onward progress. Every modern improvement is there, to hide defects, or to mend imperfections; all is trim, neat, and respectable, as on any other vessel belonging to the state. And it is splendidly manned, with skilful officers and a zealous crew, whose whole

[p] Coleridge.

interest is in its prosperity. Abundance and comfort are provided for all on board. But it keeps carefully under the shelter of a safe shore, it tempts not the storm, it shuns the perils of the deep. Its sails and masts are not made for rude conflict with the wind and wave, it loves the smoother waters of vicinity to earth.

> "*Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus*
> *Fidit: tu, nisi ventis*
> *Debes ludibrium, cave.*"[q]

It has not the fisherman's blessing; it draws into its own compass nothing from without; it sends out quietly and decently, as a genteel angler might, not as depending on it, its well-ordered tackle; but it pretends not even to gain, by it, increase. Yet of conflict and clamour it has enough. Within all is dissension, contention, strife. It is no wonder that it does not move. If its chief commander set the sails in one direction, his mate will trim them oppositely on another mast. If one rows forward, the other strikes backwards. And still more strange, there are those who applaud, and think their bark is going bravely on, because one out of twenty engaged in its direction, pulls alone against the rest. This surely was no more than the other, the ship to which it was said "Duc in altum," go out into deep waters, and there face the billows, and throw into them the apostolic net. It is none of Peter's boat.

And moreover these, and others, have one complete disqualification: they profess *not* to be Peter's bark. They repudiate the connection; they are indignant at being supposed to have anything special to say to him. They have made their choice of another ship, or of many smaller craft, but they will take particular

[q] Horace.

care that it be not his. Anything but that. Now St. Mark tells us, that when our blessed Lord went into the ship, where he slept during the storm, "there were other ships with Him,"[r] that is, keeping in His wake. What became of them during the tempest? We hear no more of them. Only one ship had Jesus on board, and only of it is the Gospel narrative. They may have put back to harbour, they may have been dispersed in the darkness; some may have been cast on shore. But we read of only one that reached its destination, because only one bore the sure Pilot, and the Queller of the storm; and that was Peter's.

But there remains one more instance, in what we may term the sea-faring part of our Saviour's mission, of its connection with St. Peter's prerogatives. We allude to the miracle of our Lord's walking on the waters, related succinctly by St. John,[s] and more fully by St. Matthew.[t] In the storm above described, Jesus was in the boat, but sleeping; here he was absent, but near. In the midst of the tempest He appears walking on the waters. The apostles are terrified, and their Divine Master reassures them. There is one of them, however, bolder than the rest. As afterwards he casts himself into the sea to swim to his Lord, so now Peter claims the desperate evidence of walking to Him on the waters. It was a test worthy of himself; ever ardent, ever eager. "Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come to Thee upon the waters. And he said: Come. And Peter going down out of the boat walked upon the waters, to come to Jesus." It was important, nevertheless, that he should be informed of the danger into which his ardent temperament would lead him. As later he would protest his readiness to

[r] Mark iv. 36. [s] John vi. 19. [t] Matt. xiv. 26.

die rather than deny his Lord, and yet would fail; so here it was expedient to show him, of how little avail would be his own strength, where supernatural support was needed. For, "seeing the wind strong, he was afraid; and when he began to sink, he cried out, saying: Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus stretching forth His hand, took hold of him, and said to him: O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt? And when they were come up into the boat the wind ceased." Now here are several remarkable circumstances. Peter alone claims the right of walking upon the billows. It is not the ship that must support *him;* it is not because he is in it, that he does not perish. He has a power independent of it, so to speak; which no other apostle has. The right hand of Jesus is directly his support, when fearless and alone he commits himself to the troubled waters. To doubt that, so supported, he has this marvellous prerogative, is to be of little faith. He is allowed partially to sink, that this reproof may be administered to him; and, through him, to us. And then, "when *they* came up into boat, the wind ceased." For they go together hand in hand, Jesus and Peter, the Head sublime, invisible, and divine, and the Head inferior, visible, and earthly, of the Church—the hand of one is power, the other's is confidence; thus linked they give security. Both ascend the ship together, from which they seemed to have withdrawn their care, Master and pilot; and to their joint presence is attributed the calm. Can any one believe that there was no connection between our Saviour's act and Peter's? That the one was not performed for the sake of the other? Did Jesus defer accompanying His disciples, and follow them walking on the waters, or, instead of thus passing over the narrow sea, go on board their

boat half-way across, only to astonish them? Is all that relates to Peter merely secondary? On the contrary, no one can read this passage, and doubt that the whole narrative is inserted mainly for the sake of the apostle's share in it. It is clearly the *lesson* of the history.

Now let us come to our practical conclusions from all that we have here put together.

1. It is evident that our Saviour, during his mission in Galilee, wished, or rather ordered, that a boat should attend Him, from which He preached, and in which He sailed. And though His beloved disciple had one at His disposal, He gave preference to that of Peter.

2. Three classes of miracles are recorded, as taking place in connection with the boat and its occupation: two miraculous draughts of fishes, two quellings of storms, and our Lord and Peter walking on the water.

3. Every one of these is wrought in favour of this apostle, or his bark; and the discourses preceding or following them relate to him.

In the first draught of fishes, as we have seen, he is ordered to go into the deep and cast his net; and after his successful obedience, the promise is made to him that he shall take men. In other words, our Saviour shows that the material action was symbolical of a spiritual one; and the miracle wrought was a proof or guarantee of the truth of the promise. It was as though our Lord had said: "In the same wonderful manner, by the same power, to the same extent, and as surely as you have this day taken such an unwonted netfull of fishes, you shall in due time haul from the depths of sin, misery, and ignorance, the souls of men." In the second, it is Peter who has led forth the apostles to their work, and again a mira-

culous capture rewards him, upon obeying the same command. So completely was it his, that when "Jesus saith to them, Bring hither of the fishes which you have now caught, Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land;"[u] a net which, though overladen, was not allowed to break. The other apostles had brought the net to the shore, but it required the presence of Peter to draw it upon land. And in what did this miracle end? In nothing but the fulfilment of the assurance, given him after the earlier corresponding miracle. Our Lord here met his disciples, apparently for only one purpose,—to invest Peter, before them, with the dignity of supreme Pastor. The only discourse that follows, is the thrice-repeated commission to feed the flock; and as if to show that all was then ended, Jesus leads his now inducted Vicar away from the rest, for confidential discourse, by adding, "Follow me." So individual was this call, that when Peter would have had his, and Christ's, loved one to join him, he was checked and refused by the words: "What is it to thee? follow thou me."[x] It seems impossible to reject the analogy between the two passages, and not to consider one as the complement of the other. In both, Peter is the distinct end of the miracle, both wrought in his favour, and introductory to his privileges.

In the two cases of stilling the storm, the same connection with the Prince of the Apostles is to be found. In his boat our Lord appears to slumber, and awakes to reproach his followers generally, for want of faith, or confidence in Him, and for fear that the vessel could founder, in which He was pleased to abide. In the second instance He seems to them to be further off, to be out of the ship, and the storm

[u] John xxi. 10. [x] Ibid. 19—22.

goes on, till He and Peter have shown themselves on board.

Finally, not to repeat what has been so lately described, Peter is taught to tread fearlessly the waters alone; and is reproved, in particular, for want of confidence in his powers to do so, in the very words addressed to all the apostles in the first storm. As though it were said to him: "If the others showed weakness, in doubting of their safety in the boat, thou dost the same, in hesitating about thy security independent of it. Besides the assuring presence of Jesus in the ship, thou hast His right hand supporting thee, in personal safety, over the abyss. This can no more swallow up thee, than it." And this assurance is confirmed to him by the miracle.

We certainly do not mean to deny, that our Lord may, in the course of His Galilean mission, have entered other barks, besides Peter's. But this we claim as proved, that the Holy Spirit has been pleased to select for our special instruction, out of no matter how many, those occurrences in which St. Peter is specially concerned. A Protestant will say: This is merely accidental and secondary; what matters it if the boat were his, or anybody's else, the miracles and lessons were independent of this consideration. Now a Catholic has too much reverence to treat inspired writings so. With us there is no chance, no accident, in what God does, or says. We cannot consider it a mere result of blind chance, that every evangelist should have given us narratives of our Lord's "going down to the sea in ships," and yet have, in every specific instance, been careful to let us know that Peter's was the chosen bark. Moreover, we cannot consider it accidental, that every single miracle wrought on board, should have been connected with him. If it was

matter of indifference whose the boat was which Jesus took, if no lesson depended on it, why are we distinctly told, that there were two boats, and that he selected one, which was Simon's ?

All this is unimportant to a Protestant, because it bears on nothing in his system. When even he may be disposed to allow, that the ship tossed by the storm was an emblem of the Church, and Jesus subduing the war of elements no unfit symbol of His ruling presence in her, he will not see any connection with the destinies of the vessel, in the presence of Peter. He gives no definite meaning to those clear and most dogmatic passages, in which supremacy is bestowed on him. And so all the beauty and interest of a minute application of each detail, which we have drawn, perhaps tediously forth, is lost upon him.

But the Catholic has begun by taking in their literal force, those passages in which Peter is as closely bound with the constitution of the Church, as the foundation is with a building. The safety of one is the security of the other. He becomes an essential, not an accidental part, a primary, not a secondary element, in its formation. The Church of Peter is also the Church of Christ, because the fold of Christ is likewise the fold of Peter. These principles laid down, in obedience to other positive teachings of Christ, all the narratives which we have analyzed have a consistent meaning, as well as a definite object. They not only cohere most admirably, but they complete, and illustrate, most beautifully, the constitution of the Church.

According to this view, the Church is but one; for though there may be other, and stately-looking ships, launched upon the ocean, there is necessarily only one in which Jesus is pleased to abide; and that is Peter's.

To it alone is given assurance of safety, whatever storms may assail it; for in it alone is He, whom winds and waves obey. All are safe who are embarked in it, none who are without it. To it alone is committed the work, not only of mastering, but still more of gaining, the world. It is not a rich argossy laden with treasure, nor a lofty galley rowed by captives, nor a fierce war-ship, bristling with instruments of destruction, but a fisherman's craft, intent on filling itself with living spoil, snatched from the gulf of destruction. Now, when the Catholic reads all this described in allegory, by our Saviour's actions on the sea, and notes how exactly it fits his theory of the Church, whereof Peter is the head, his faith is strengthened and his heart consoled. For he discovers a purpose in every detail, in every word; and sees that each has been registered for his sake. These lesser coincidences serve to confirm a belief, based upon direct teaching; they fill up the picture, they add to it colour and life. If the Catholic view is right, and if Peter was meant to occupy in the Church of Christ, the place which it assigns him, then every smallest particle of these narratives has its significance, and was studiously recorded for an important purpose. Remove him from it, and there is no intended meaning in the details of their histories; or rather, we reverently say it, they are calculated to confirm, what the Protestant must consider, an erroneous system.

And not only is the Catholic strengthened in his dogmatic convictions by these corroborative, and supplementary, arguments, but he derives from them most comforting assurances. It is no fancy-picture that comes before him, when he thinks of the tempest-tossed fisherman's bark. He looks at its trials and

its triumphs through the very mist of ages. Afar, as if leaving the distant coast, its first harbour, he beholds it steering straight for the very port of the earth's capital, in serenest confidence. It is not long before the gates of hell let forth a blast more fearful than Æolus could command from his cavern of storms. The abyss is upheaved, and the might of earth sweeps over it, to destroy the daring invader.

"Ponto nox incubat atra.
Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus æther:
Præsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem."[y]

But death from such a tempest has charms for the valiant crew. On, the fearless little bark holds its course; now it is almost lost to sight in the war of persecuting elements, now it crests nobly the topmost wave, till we find it safe riding in smooth water. Peter has been acknowledged the spiritual conqueror of Rome. Yet he must not rest. After the resurrection he said, "I go a fishing," and this is his occupation, and his delight, till the end of time. What a glorious employment it has been to him! How his heart rejoiced, much more than on taking a hundred and fifty-three large fishes, when Patrick drew in his net on Erin's coast, or Augustin on England's, or Boniface in Germany's deep streams, and brought into the ample ship their willing inhabitants! Nor was this calm and peaceful pastime for him. High in the regions of the north commenced a swelling surge, which broke, in successive waves, over the toiling bark. Hun, Vandal, Goth, and Lombard, in rapid course followed each other, and seemed to overwhelm it in their turn. And still the fisherman went on; while his tempest-tight skiff shook off the cataract of waters, he plied

[y] Æneid i.

his net in its very depths, and carried from them their living prey. And now again came the calm, and the ocean seemed still. But soon the storm began again. The rude assault of a rough, indocile age, of the world of an iron chivalry, broke loose, again and again, against the charmed ship of Peter. For centuries the conflict lasted, and the gallant vessel held on its course, dashing the spray from its prow. Then came a trial, forgotten for ages—since Arius and Nestorius divided the Church. Mutiny on board, insubordination, rebellion. Treacherous crews, from its own decks, man a hostile fleet; its own skill and prowess, learnt within it, are turned against it. Able foes, armed with all the powers of earth, threaten her destruction, and swear implacable hatred. And still the noble vessel fears them not, but goes undaunted on her errand. She sees them tossed to and fro by every wind, sailing apart, without compass to guide them, quarrelling with one another, and only combined when they agree to assail her; and she notes how they have not been able to bear away with them the grace of her noblest functions; no shred of the apostolic net has been allowed to be filched from her. She alone bears aloft the Cross as her banner; she alone boasts that Peter, in his successor, sits at her helm; nay, she alone dares proclaim that she has Jesus Christ Himself on board, as He was on the fisherman's craft on the Sea of Galilee. Such is the Catholic's review of the past, and in it he reads the assurance of the future. When, a year ago, this country was agitated from end to end, in opposition to Catholic progress; when the Government, the Parliament, the Establishment, the Press, the aristocracy, seemed combined to thwart the purely ecclesiastical action of the Church; when all that clamour eloquence, insolence, and calumny, addresses,

speeches, meetings, essays, and journalism could do, to raise a storm, was unsparingly and perseveringly continued for months, to overwhelm the new hierarchy; in what did we place our hopes, nay, our assurance, that peace would return, and the Church would be justified, by results, in the wise measure which she had taken? Not merely in the knowledge that such a step had been long and wisely considered, not in the high estimate which we had formed, of the virtues and gifts of the Supreme Pastor from whom it proceeded. But knowing that the Letters Apostolic which he issued were given under "the Fisherman's Ring," we could not be of little faith, or doubt that what was thus declared to be the solemn act of Peter, partook in the promises made to him, and the assurances given, that his bark should not be crushed by the tempests of earth. And so when pontiff after pontiff, like the sixth, the seventh, or the ninth, Pius, seemed borne apart from the vessel which he guided, to experience, in his own person, the whole violence of the storm, and walk alone over the troubled and treacherous waters, never did the Catholic doubt, that the powerful right hand, in which the Psalmist trusted, and which was stretched forth to Peter, would support them, and guide them, and bring them safe back, if necessary, to the faithful friends from whom, in body, they had been torn. "Etenim illuc manus Tua deducet me, et tenebit me dextera Tua."

IV. We will now briefly bring together a few passages, which refer to a point of secondary importance, but not devoid of interest. Among the puzzling inconsistencies of Protestantism is its Sabbatarian theory. After protesting, in every possible way, against tradition, and Church authority, the Protestant accepts, without a murmur, the change of the Jewish Sabbath

into the Christian Sunday, of which the only voucher is tradition, and the only foundation ecclesiastical authority. Having thus admitted perhaps the greatest stretch of this power and of that testimony that exists, he begins to forget that any change has been made, and applies to the new day of rest, all the burthens and restrictions of the old. He tries to overlook that it is the first, and not the last, day of the week; nay, if he become more solemn in his speech, through increased rigour of religious notions, he rejects the profane name of "Sunday," and studiously and emphatically styles it "*the* Sabbath." These two terms have become positively watchwords; a Catholic never uses the latter. "Sunday" sounds to his ears as a day of radiance and joy; as a day of smiles at home, and laughing peals of gladness in the air; as a day of cheerful service to Him who loves a cheerful giver, in canticles and hymns, and noble offices of prayer. But "Sabbath" rings with Puritanism in the ears, and gives the idea of drawling sounds, and sour looks, of bitter theology and domestic gloom. There is no balminess, no sweetness in the name. It belongs to a dispensation that is dead, and to obligations which the law of love has abated, or abolished. But singularly enough, that religious system which affects to put all its faith in Christ, and to loath the Law and its works, by a judicial blindness, clings to its very deadest branches, and tries to find there its most nutritious fruit. Having reduced all its practical worship to the compass of one day, it makes that a mere superstition; it condenses, only to corrupt.

What makes this strange infatuation still more amazing is, that in the New Testament, it is so clearly attributed, as a characteristic, to the Pharisee. A simple-minded reader of the Gospel would naturally

ask, who defended Sabbatarian strictness, our Lord, or His enemies? Who there represent the strait-laced party? It is impossible to hesitate in answering.

Not less than seven times in the Gospel history, He lays down His doctrine of the Sabbath, in opposition to Pharisaical objections. Surely He must have considered this an important question of moral and ecclesiastical observance, so to expound it. But applying our often-repeated rule, we must conclude, that, supposing our Redeemer to have never spoken besides on the subject, there was a particular reason for recording so many different inculcations of one idea. If, on the other hand, we maintain that He much oftener argued the point, we must still conclude, that a strong motive led to so many repetitions of the same subject, in a record so limited as the Gospel. In other words, the selection of this topic seven times, in picking out the materials of that sacred history from a mass left behind, proves it to be one on which the spirit of God was pleased, that we should accurately know the divine doctrine in the New Law. It shows an earnestness in guarding Christianity against a particular theory; and we may safely conclude, against one sure to be taught. We must therefore take actual, not imaginary, systems; and judge which among them our Saviour taught, and which he excluded. Without entering into the details of each case, we will analyze the evidence before us, and reduce it to distinct heads.

1. First, therefore, we will remark, that all the Gospels give more than one instance of attack upon our Lord for laxity on Sabbath observance. St. Matthew and St. Mark give two cases; St. Luke gives four, two being the same as those evangelists record; and St. John three, perfectly distinct ones. This con-

currence of the inspired writers on a secondary topic is very striking.

2. Of these cases, three directly accompany the performance of miracles, three are indirectly connected with miraculous works, and one relates to an ordinary occurrence.

3. We will proceed with the first class. A withered hand is cured in the synagogue.[z] This is done with previous attention called to the fact of its being the Sabbath day; the Pharisees put the question whether it be lawful to heal on that day; and Jesus first defends the propriety of doing it, and then confirms His assertion by the miraculous cure. A man sick with dropsy comes into the house of a Pharisee, where He is a guest. It is again the Sabbath, and His enemies "watch Him." He, *this time*, puts the very question to them which, on the former occasion, they had put to Him; "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?" Again He argues the point, and performs a miracle to prove His doctrine.[a] A woman bowed down by an ailment of eighteen years' duration is in the synagogue on the Sabbath; she does not ask to be relieved; but Jesus calls her, and lays His blessed hands upon her, and she is *made straight*. "The ruler of the synagogue" (being angry that Jesus had healed on the Sabbath) "answering said to the multitude" (that is, not liking to address our Lord, with whom, in reality, he was displeased, reproved Him through the people, "saying), Six days there are wherein ye ought to work, in these therefore come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath day."[b] Again our Lord replies, vindicating what He had done, and

[z] Matt. xii. 10; Mark iii. 2; Luke vi. 6.
[a] Luke xiv. 1. [b] Ibid. xiii. 10.

beginning His answer by the significant words: "Ye hypocrites!"

The next instance is also one in which the attack is first made through the subject of the miracle. Jesus cured a man at the pool of Bethsaida, saying to him: "Arise, take up thy bed and walk." He obeyed; "and it was the Sabbath that day." Immediately he was told, "It is the Sabbath, it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed." Upon discovering that Jesus had given him the command, the Jews transfer their hatred to Him. "Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath." And when He again defended Himself, saying, that as His Father worked until now, so He worked; that is, that as His Father, on the Sabbath, went on with His beneficent work of Providence, so did He, who had the same power; the Jews only redoubled their hatred. "Hereupon therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He did not only break the Sabbath, but also said God was His Father, making Himself equal to God."[c]

After this discourse, our blessed Lord left Jerusalem, where it took place, and taught in Galilee. On His return to the holy city, he again resumed this subject, in the following singular terms: "One work I have done, and ye all wonder. Therefore Moses gave you circumcision—and on the Sabbath day you circumcise a man. If a man receive circumcision on the Sabbath day, that the law of Moses may not be broken, are you angry at me, because I have healed the whole man on the Sabbath day?"[d] Now, no miracle has preceded this speech, in the Gospel narrative; and as we can hardly suppose the allusion to be made to the

[c] John v. 1. [d] Ibid. vii. 22.

miracle wrought at a former visit, nor could that be called "one work," for many signs had been wrought between, we are naturally led to suppose, that St. John, or rather the divine Spirit, considered the record of this instruction more important than that of the miracle. The latter was therefore omitted, and the former preserved.

Again the Pharisaical spirit is roused, when Jesus performs one of the most severely tested of His miracles,—the cure of the man born blind. He might at once have restored his sight by a word or touch. He preferred performing the cure, by what might be called a mechanical, or manual, labour. He made clay, and therewith anointed the man's eyes. "Now it was the Sabbath, when Jesus made clay, and opened his eyes." This is sufficient ground with the Pharisees for rejecting the miracle. "This man is not of God, who keepeth not the Sabbath."[e]

One more instance remains, wholly unconnected with any miraculous operation; yet three evangelists have recorded it. The incident is trifling, but its instruction very great. The apostles going through a corn-field on the Sabbath, pluck the ripe ears, rub them in their hands, and eat the grains. This mechanical operation is construed by the Pharisees into a breach of the Law, and reproved as such. Our Redeemer defends His disciples in the same manner as He had defended Himself.[f] What gives particular interest to this case is, that each evangelist who records it, proceeds immediately to the narrative of the cure of the withered hand, as though our Lord wrought this miracle expressly to confirm His vindication of the apostles.

4. From all these facts we conclude, that in seven

[e] John ix. 14. [f] *Matt. xii. 1; Mark ii. 23; Luke vi. 1.*

cases, two views of Sabbath observance were discussed between our Saviour and the Jews; and that in every one, He represents and upholds the lenient and moderate side, they the intolerant and oppressive. Now, a similar discrepancy exists at the present day, between Catholics and Protestants, and there can be no doubt which party corresponds to each of the former disputants. It may be said that zeal for the Sabbath was carried to excess by the Jews, in every one of these instances, far beyond what the most infatuated Sabbatarian nowadays would require. We are not so sure of that. We need not go back to the days of wild puritanical fanaticism, for instances of extreme rigour on this subject. We need not travel to old Banbury for the well-known enforcement on feline propensities of Sabbath observance, by making a solemn example of the cat that presumed to mouse on the Sunday. But we recollect not many years ago a case of death from starvation at a large town in the West of England, because the society from which relief was sought, rigidly refused to grant it on the Lord's day. Still more recently a well-known instance was publicly quoted, of a lady of high rank, who in vain implored conveyance by railway in Scotland, to pay the last offices of affection to a dying relation, though empty mail-trains passed to and fro. And we know that a similar refusal was made to a Catholic ecclesiastic of high dignity in the same country, when it was the only means of bearing the last rites of religion to a departing parishioner. Now here is Sabbatical observance preferred to charity; in one instance, though death might be, and was, the consequence. This is carrying the principle to the full Pharisaic standard. "Come and be healed on week-days." In fact, what would any of the four who were purposely cured on

the Sabbath, have lost by waiting till next morning? After eighteen, and thirty-eight years', infirmity, one day more would not have been a heavy addition: the dropsical patient could still walk, and therefore could not be in any danger; and the withered hand could not be much needed on the Jewish Sabbath. Had our Lord said, in these cases: "To-morrow come and I will heal you, for this is the Sabbath," He would have spoken words with which Exeter Hall would have rung, and given a text to be stereotyped by tract-dealers, and engraved for children's copies. But He says exactly the contrary always; and we find the upholders of the Sabbatical superstition, they who pretend to look to our Saviour for everything, carefully overlooking His teaching on the subject, suppressing His words, and running to the law of fear, and its abolished rigours, nay to its exaggerated traditions among the Jews, for the pattern of their observance.

5. On the other hand, they tax Papists, particularly on the Continent, with being habitual Sabbath-breakers. We condemn utterly every violation that is contrary to the laws of the Church; all traffic, public works, shop-keeping, and unnecessary business. But we reprove no less the other extreme, which forms the Protestant principle. Rest was not meant to be idleness, and no Christian festival was intended to be gloomy. One cannot fail to be struck by the strong language employed by our Redeemer, when He denounced the rule of Sabbath observance, which our modern reformers have selected. "Ye hypocrites!" And the charge of this hateful vice is fully justified by what we read in the passages referred to. The poor disciples pluck some ears of corn, "being hungry," and eat them. The Pharisees immediately cry out,

"Behold Thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do on the Sabbath days."[g] And then we find, that "when Jesus went into the house of one of the chief of the Pharisees, *on the Sabbath day to eat bread*, they watched Him."[h] Now, is not this exactly the case with our modern Sabbatarians? They always have one law of observance for the rich, and another for the poor. The one must not pluck an ear of corn on the Sabbath, without the rich man's reprehending him, and then going home to his luxurious dinner with his friends. It used to be proposed to suppress all Sunday cooking in public bakeries, where alone the poor could have a warm meal prepared, on their only day of rest; but no Sir Andrew ever dreamt of shutting off the steam of the boiler, or putting a break on the smoke-jack, of aristocratic kitchens. There is something hypocritically profane in the spectacle, described as taking place on a Sunday at fashionable Scotch kirks, of some twenty carriages at the door, with their human appurtenances, waiting, for devout listeners to a discourse against Sunday travelling! Nor have we ever heard that the eloquent Boanerges ever whispered a *wee* word of reproof to the gentle folks, for their zeal to lay the burthens of the law only on the already overburthened shoulders of the poor. Depend upon it, he never called them "hypocrites," though that is Scripture.

6. However inconsistent was the Pharisee's theory of having a good dinner himself, while he was horrified at a hungry poor man's rubbing the wheat-ears in his hand, to eat them, our dear Lord, who looked to our instruction, did not hesitate to dine with him on that day. And He justified his conduct by the cure of the dropsical man, who possibly presented himself with

[g] Matt. xi. 2. [h] Luke xiv. 1.

the connivance of the host; for he, with his friends, were "watching" our Lord before the cure. He did not, however, despise Jewish prejudices merely to this extent. He braved hatred and persecution, for His views and practice regarding the Sabbath. St. Luke tells us, that the Scribes and Pharisees, on account of His healing on the Sabbath day, "were filled with madness, and they talked to one another, what they might do to Jesus."[i] St. Matthew explains, that this consultation was, "how they might destroy Jesus."[k] St. John informs us, that "therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath."[l] This contempt for the prejudices of the bigot Jews, this braving of their hatred and persecution, for the sake of a principle on such a subject, at once stamps the view of those men with the note of reprobation and wickedness. One so meek as Jesus, who had come to "fulfil all justice," who asserted boldly, and with divine truth, that "not a jot nor tittle of the Law should pass away," who attended to every legal obligation, from His twelfth year to the eve of His death, who would "not bruise the broken reed, nor extinguish the smoking flax," so tender was His tread to be on earth; one, in fine, who was come to purchase the soul of the most cynical Pharisee at as dear a rate as that of His holy Mother, must have considered that an evil principle, which He crushed so unmercifully seven times, and which to uproot, he braved the fury and hatred of the dominant party in church and state. Hence the Catholic moralist well understands the term *scandalum pharisaicum* as opposed to the *scandalum pusillorum*,[m] the first of which may safely be despised; but the latter, never.

[i] Luke vi. 11. [k] Matt. xii. 14. [l] John v. 16.

[m] "Pharisaical scandal," and "scandal of Christ's little ones."

7. Finally our Lord, whose example so clearly sustains the temperate and Christian views of the Catholic Church on this ritual question, lays down principles conformable to His practice, which form the basis of this Church's conduct. "The Son of Man is the Lord also of the Sabbath; the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." These two aphorisms contain the whole of our doctrine and of our discipline on the subject. He who declared Himself Lord of the Sabbath, also said to His apostles: "All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth; as My Father hath sent me, so I also send you."[n] Within the compass of this delegated power came the Sabbath; and the Catholic at once acquiesces in the transfer of its obligations, by the apostles, to the Sunday. And if the Sabbath was made to serve man, whereas man was not created to be the slave of the Sabbath,—man's true interests are to be the standard, whereby the Church will ever regulate her precepts respecting it. Moroseness and debauchery are equally alien from her thoughts; nor could the spouse of Christ have devised a mode of spending it, which makes its morning dull, and its evening dissipated. It could not have crammed into it the spiritual duties of the six other days, and so made it an iron yoke. It could not have sanctified it, by excluding from it the performance of even charitable works. It could not have consecrated it to stupidity and sloth, by withdrawing from it all innocent recreation and refreshing cheerfulness. All this would not have been considering or treating the Sabbath as made for man. This can only be the case where it promotes his happiness; where it instructs his mind, applies rightly his intellect, tones

[n] Matt. xxviii. 18; John xx. 21.

his feelings, by a gentle sway, to wholesome kindliness, raises his thoughts by a noble and beautiful worship, improves his social and domestic relations by a more virtuous intercourse, invigorates his frame by seasonable repose, mingled with temperate recreation; and, in fine, makes him live one day of every seven of his life under the chastening discipline of religion, but still more under the sweet influence of God's countenance, felt to be more present, more benign, more radiant than on other days, with an eye more watchful, indeed, over evil, but more open to our better deeds. This is the Lord's Day of the New Law; this is the Sunday, on which the glory of the spiritual firmament reigns supreme.

V. We opened our essay with the transactions of our blessed Saviour's infancy, and we will close it with the last actions of His life. We promise to be very concise.

Here, as in the noblest tragedy, action becomes equivalent to suffering, and our Redeemer may be said to do for man, whatever man does against Him. Now, to our minds, there is nothing more decisive of the respective claims of Catholic and Protestant to be the religion of the New Testament, than the manner in which they treat its most solemn portion, that which records the final act of redemption. The very essence of modern Protestantism is, to regard this greatest act as a mere abstraction. The mind is concentrated on the sole apprehension of an accomplished atonement, and its instrumentality by death. By a process eminently selfish, the price and its purchase are transferred to the individual soul, appropriated by it, and thus viewed extraneously to Him whose they really are. There is no contemplation in the Protestant view, it is one of mere self-application. To contrast

it with the Catholic idea, and so illustrate both, perhaps a simple parable may be useful.

Let us imagine to ourselves two spendthrifts, for whose debts a loving father has given bond. The day of reckoning arrives, and the surety comes willingly to pay the ransom. One son stands by, grateful indeed, but cold and calculating. He looks not at the huge sum that is counted out, but is eagerly waiting for the last coin to be told, and then exultingly cries out, "I am free;" and goes his way. But there is another beside him, who watches with the intensest gaze every particle of the precious offering, because he knows what it has cost his father to procure it. In every piece he recognises the fruit of some privation undergone, or some cruel humiliation endured. On one he reads his father's hunger, on another his abject toil. He remembers, as one portion of the store is brought out, that it was gained at the expense of calumny and hatred from friends; and when another is produced, that it was earned by the loss of those most dear to him. At every instalment he looks into his dear parent's countenance, and sees its manly sorrow, and its varying emotions, as these same recollections pass over his heart; and though the smile of love is on his lips, as the last golden drachma falls from his hand, at thought of what he has achieved for his children, even this is but more heartrending to the tender one of the two; and he almost loses all sense of his own liberation, in the anguish inflicted by its price. He thinks not of himself, for love is not selfish. He goes not away singing, "I am ransomed, I am free," but he rushes to his father's feet, exclaiming, "Thou hast purchased me, I am thine!"

Such we believe to be the true difference between the Protestant and the Catholic mode of considering our

Saviour's passion. The one looks at it with an acquisitive eye, the other with the eye of love. To the Protestant it would have been the same if the simple act of death had been recorded, and its preliminary and accompanying sufferings had been suppressed. Not one emotion would have been lost to him, any more than, in his system, any advantage. What does the cruel agony in Gethsemani give him? It does not redeem him. What does he gain by the welts and gashes of the Roman scourges? They do not ransom him. What profits him the mock coronation, and its insulting homage? It does not save him. And then what can Mary and John do for him at the cross's foot? He declares he does not care for them. What matters it to him if the seamless garment be diced for, or rent? It bears no deep mystery of faith to him. No: only let him secure that moment when the last breath passes over the Victim's lips, and it is enough—for it is the atonement.

Yet all that we have briefly enumerated was suffered for our sakes, and recorded for our profit. Although the last piece completed our ransom, all that preceded it composed the sum. For surely our divine Redeemer did nought in vain, nor aught superfluously. He was generous, indeed, but not wasteful. The Catholic, therefore, treasures up in his heart every smallest gift of love, where the smallest is immense. From this minuteness of Catholic preception springs a sense of reality, an approximation of feeling, which makes that not merely vivid, but present, which is separated from us by ages. On the other side is a mere hazy and vague generality, merging in a conception of the mind, instead of a real fact. And from this unreality easily springs up a lurking infidelity, that saps the foundation of Christianity. The mind comes to think it

unnecessary to trouble itself about details, so long as the one apprehended truth is certain. "Christ died for us, no matter how," is the whole needful dogma of an evangelical mind.

But there is another view from which the Protestant eye habitually shrinks, but one which the Catholic boldly contemplates; it is that which completes the circle, by joining the beginning and the end of the Gospel together, *steadily uniting the incarnation* and the death. The first of these great mysteries receives but little prominence in modern Protestantism, because this lacks the daring of faith, to believe that He who died was the Word incarnate. And it is this feebleness of belief that leads to that vagueness and generalization in doctrine, which we have described. Say to a Protestant, "God was struck in the face; God was scourged; God was crowned with thorns;" and he dares not trust himself to look upon the doctrine. The eagle eye that can gaze upon the sun belongs not to his system; it is but a craven bird. He feels himself unable to grasp the awful mystery. If he deny the divinity of our Lord, his atonement is gone. But he dares not contemplate the dogma through its various applications, and he shrinks from such phrases as we have given with a misgiving terror. They sound shocking and almost profane. And thus he is driven to suppress in his thoughts those detailed sequels of the incarnation, and dwell upon only obscure perceptions of two doctrines, which he has not heart to firmly combine. Socinianism thus becomes the refuge of a vacillating attempt at faith.

The Catholic Church is a stranger to this wavering. She pursues one doctrine through all the mazes of the other, and combines the two inextricably. The Infant and the Victim are equal realities; nay, a unity, begin-

ning in God, and *in* God ending; God throughout, in feebleness as *in* might, *in* obscurity and in brightness, in suffering and in glory. Nothing in Him is little, nothing unworthy; the fool's garment on Him is as sacred as the snow-bright vesture of Thabor; the scourge of cords in His uplifted hand is as mighty as the thunderbolt; the first lisping of His infant tongue as wisdomful as His sermon on the mount, a bruise upon His flesh *as beautiful to angels' eyes*, as adorable to man's soul, as His first smiling radiance shed upon His virgin mother. Thus does the Church believe, thus realize her faith. She alone understands the true doctrine of her Saviour's death, as He Himself expounded it; for none other has learnt this lesson from His actions,—that love is an essential condition of forgiveness as well as *faith*, and love it is that will linger over every detail of love.

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